Salience, qualities and narratives in the making of contemporary British hand-thrown tableware

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates British workshop practices of making commercial tableware by hand on the potter's wheel. It is a practice-led study of making processes situated within research on contemporary pottery and, more generally, on craft and design.

Ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in three professional workshops: Ewenny Pottery in Wales, the Leach Pottery in Cornwall and Maze Hill Pottery in London. Methods included producing pots by following procedures as close as possible to those observed on site. An interpretive mixed-method approach uncovers meanings in making operations from observation, video analysis and conversations with potters.

The study employs an original framework based on the concept of salience: 'manufacturing salience' is defined as the relative importance of a given operation to produce tangible physical qualities in the ware; 'cultural salience' identifies narratives associated with its makers and production processes. The systematic analysis of the salience of pottery making operations locates the origins of qualities and narratives in the sequence involved in the production of mugs in the three case studies. This is used to generate a critical account of contemporary British pottery practices which discusses the interrelation among the physical qualities of hand-thrown tableware, the narratives associated with its production, and the operations required to make the pots.

The findings reappraise the importance of phases widely described in literature (e.g. throwing, glazing and firing) and draw others to attention (e.g. making handles). They show brief operations such as opening out, centring and ribbing can illustrate a potter's style of making associated with early training.

The study contributes to craft research by making the co-production of qualities, narratives and processes accessible to inspection, and discussing it in relation to social, cultural and technical contexts. The critical discussion of professional pottery practices addresses limitations identified in literature and demonstrates the effectiveness of the study.

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PROLOGUE

This doctoral study began as a personal project, evolved from an amateur interest in pottery into an academic study of professional practice. This learning process was accompanied by a change of standpoint. In short, I moved from viewing pottery techniques purely as ways to express my creativity, to considering how they are shaped by specific workshop contexts, sometimes in environments in which craftsmanship is only one of many goals. I abandoned the assumption that pots are always made by the people who design them, and engaged with issues and dynamics which occur when potters make for others. I replaced a simplistic focus on throwing and glazing as the principal phases in the making with a wider and more complete appreciation of all operations. This included reappraising phases often overlooked in pottery manuals and amateur classes, and paying attention to the continuity of the ceramic process and the 'little details' that define expert craft making (LP87)[1]. In discussing the research, I aim to demonstrate the validity of this shift and its relevance to the study of pottery practices.

I started to attend evening classes over 12 years ago in London. Moving from college to college, I learned to make relatively small, thick, irregular pots by pinching, coiling and throwing clay, following the standard BTEC[2] curriculum. For a few years, making pots was a welcome hobby, a non-professional activity driven by a desire to control my own labour (Knott, 2011: p.10) after a day spent at a desk in an engineering office. At that stage, my interest in pottery was entirely for leisure: I enjoyed the craft as a process (Adamson, 2007: p.3; Korn, 2015: p.7) rather than for manufacturing products.

My viewpoint began to change during my first trip to Japan. An unplanned visit to the Yano Pottery near Naruto, on the island of Shikoku, put me in contact with pottery production as a trade dedicated to making goods for sale. Currently in their 8th generation,

1 References to interviews and conversations with participants are abbreviated in the thesis, e.g. LP87 stands for 'Uys, R., 2016. Conversation with the author, 27th July. Leach Pottery'. The full list is shown on page 415.

2 BTEC stands for Business and Technology Education Council.

Figure 1.1 Two *yunomi* cups made by the Yano family in Ootani, Tokushima, Japan.

the Yano are the oldest pottery family in the area, dating back to 18th century settlers. The potters still dig their clay on their land, shape it with methods inherited from their ancestors on the same premises and wood-fire it in a large *noborigama* climbing kiln at the back of the workshop, surrounded by hills.

Impressed by the exoticism of the experience, I purchased two *yunomi* cups: plain, green cylinders of red clay with a turned foot (Figure 1.1). They were stamped with a mark which simply indicated the locality, Ootani, rather than their family name or the company's brand. Everything about those simple objects denoted, at the same time, high craftsmanship and humility: the unassuming, beautiful creation of master makers, the embodiment of the *unknown craftsmen* praised by authors such as Soetsu Yanagi (Yanagi and Leach, 1989) and Bernard Leach (1978). Their intimate relationship with the land and the way I had 'discovered' them made them perfect souvenirs, 'authentic objects' which represented my 'authentic experience' of the country (Stewart, 1984: p.133).

Reading about material culture (Miller, 1987), I became fascinated with the 'social life of things' (Appadurai, 1986) and dynamics behind our attachment to objects. But rather than narratives and interpretations projected onto the finished pots, my interest was always in the making process, the potters' intentions and the conditions in which the pots were made. My technical fascination with manufacturing techniques led me to investigate chemical and mechanical processes, and study how narratives were acquired by the emerging pots through material transformation (Lechtman, 1977: p.270).

I began to question my simplistic reading of the two Japanese cups. How traditional were the methods employed by the potters? What was the influence of their ceramic studies or training received from other potters? What does it mean to be an 8th generation potter in the 21st century? How does current technology affect the ways pots are produced today?

I could not address these questions with my knowledge of ceramics, and found no direct answer in texts on pottery. Many publications concentrate on aesthetic qualities and explain making procedures superficially, often emphasising 'visible skill' (Gates, 2016: p.116) and propositional knowledge. Technical manuals seem aimed at beginners, or individual studio potters. Biographical information and making narratives can accompany descriptions of pots, especially in marketing material written by the potters, but descriptions of practices

tend to be merely illustrative. Overall, I found that literature widely discussed pottery qualities, narratives and processes, but rarely the relationships among them.

The aim of the study became to look for evidence of narratives and origins of qualities in the making processes, and build a taxonomy of pottery operations based on their significance in affecting qualities and narratives. Reading theories about craft led to an initial focus on 'craft values' (Valentine and Follett, 2010: p.142), which was later extended to wider 'narratives', to include other aspects related to manufacturing [Chapter 7].

The focus on hand-thrown tableware would have provided an ideal ground to investigate the relationship between art, craft and design which occupied craft literature in the early 2000s (e.g. Shaw, 2007; Lees-Maffei and Sandino, 2004). At the time I did not realise this would inadvertently shift my attention from the activities of individual studio potters, following the designer-maker model, to that of craftspeople working under others' instructions and specifications. This would lead to the distinction within a potter's *technological style* (a term adopted from archaeology: Lechtman, 1977) between internalised personal methods and instructions dictated by the workshop [Section 8.1].

Direct exposure to participants and the need to gather data in naturalistic settings suggested the use of ethnography, a method that informed important studies on craft by anthropologists and sociologists (e.g. Marchand, 2016; O'Connor, 2005). However, as discussed in Section 2.1.3.3, their analysis of making processes is a means rather than an end, as social scientists are ultimately interested in exploring craft as "a window onto an enormous social world" (Marchand, 2015).

One of the challenges the study presented was to engage with the tacit knowledge (Polanyi, 1966; Dormer, 1994) and skills involved in making pottery. Scholars proposed the use of videos to capture craft knowledge (Harper, 2013; Gowlland, 2015) and the importance of visual material to complement ethnographic fieldnotes (Pink, 2013). Videos eventually formed the basis of the systematic analysis presented in Chapter 8. This was complemented at all stages with the experiential knowledge derived from making the pots 'in the manner of' the participants observed [Section 3.2.7]. This involved following their precise instructions and analysing videos to identify finger configurations and mannerisms to replicate, challenge and discuss with the potters. Unlike many doctoral projects in

art and design, my practice-led study is not a reflection on my own approach to making pottery. Rather, I used my status as student of pottery as a way into processes. Experiencing the processes led to better-informed interviews. Reflecting on the attempts to replicate methods and products provided crucial insights and prompted further analysis [e.g. the examination of ribbing discussed in Section 8.2.3.5].

As I continued my intellectual engagement with literature on pottery and craft, I also started to visit workshops and ceramic fairs, and talked with professional potters on a regular basis. The experience at the Oxford Anagama [Section 4.5.2] was key to my understanding of atmospheric firings and demonstrated activities can be interpreted in alternative ways. The long firing shifts at Whytham with master potter Jim Keeling and other staff from Whichford Pottery enhanced my understanding of British professional pottery practices, and demonstrated a country and production pottery approach to making which contrasted greatly with the studio practices I had known in London.

Repeated trips to Asia and Africa interspersed in the same time period added geographical and cultural contexts to the study of British pottery. In Japan, I learned about many of the techniques and aesthetics which were adopted by potters back in the UK, and that helped me reflect on their incorporation into British practices. In Ghana, I practiced my ethnographic methods and studied various practices, from urban throwers in Accra to traditional female hand-builders in the Volta and Upper-East regions. At Vume, the pottery site where Michael Cardew worked in the 1940s is active again, and operates in country pottery methods which, in the UK, had largely disappeared by the mid-20th century. There, I could observe the economical and expert making of flowerpots I read about in McGarva (2000) and Lewis (1982), and would later discuss extensively with Alun Jenkins at Ewenny Pottery, in Wales.

Despite my focus on British practices, the international context shaped the approach I would follow in the study. In preparation for my trips abroad, I discovered two ethno-archaeological studies which would provide some key guidance. Cort and Lefferts's research on pottery in South-east Asia demonstrated the effectiveness of studying techniques which do not directly produce tangible qualities in the ware (2010). Their systematic cataloguing of operations and methods was an initial inspiration for the study. Olivier Gosselain's

article on contemporary Cameroonian potters (2000) provided some key terminology, important findings and an initial framework which I would then adapt for the study [Section 3.2.9.7]. This led to other readings in anthropology and archaeology, especially on operational sequence analysis (Tostevin, 2011; Stark, 1999; Leroi-Gourhan, 1993) and the notion of style (Sackett, 1982; Lechtman, 1977). Brian Moeran's ethnographic study of Onta potters in southern Japan (1980) examined how social and technological changes had impacted on the qualities and narratives associated with the pots. This suggested similar distinctions could be made synchronically across case studies.

When I started a pilot study at Kingsgate Workshops in Kilburn, my understanding of ceramics was centred around the work of individual studio potters, making small batches of relatively time-consuming pieces. My initial questions explored craftsmanship, artistic references and personal expression in pottery (KW01, KW02, KW03). Gradually, I came into contact with alternative approaches, other makers in studios in London and wood-firing potters in Oxford, as well as traditions abroad. The focus shifted towards narratives about processes, which enriched my understanding of pottery practices. I moved away from a focus on aesthetics and craftsmanship to one embracing processes for their own sake. I replaced the personal views of pottery authors with the multiple views emerging from the field. I mapped gestures and techniques of individual potters but also engaged with the management of the workshops, teaching activities and cooperative modes of production. I reacted against the "series of emotive noises" which David Pye lamented - and I still encountered in publications and conversations about craft - and tried to "answer factually" (1995: p.23) by offering clear supporting evidence and analysis.

This resulted in the problematised and multi-faceted accounts presented in this thesis, in which making methods are not just chosen off the shelves from a catalogue of equivalent options, but are shaped by the making cultures in which the potters were immersed in early training and which continue to respond to the commercial, educational, operational and management conditions in the workshops. At times which record a shift in craft making from professional to more leisurely and educational activities [Section 1.1.2], the study offers an illustration of the complexity of commercial production and an original theoretical framework for analysing hand-making processes.

In the ever-evolving conditions in which craft is produced, the research documents making practices at a resolution not captured in oral histories and recollections. The ethnographic treatment of methods and techniques directly informs ways in which making pottery can be taught and demonstrated, and discussed in technical publications [Section 9.2]. The effective elicitation of narratives and their critical interpretation can enhance the engagement with pots and other craft objects in curated environments.

As expected in any study that spans four years, researcher's skills and research methods were developed and refined over time. The approach and findings that resulted are a dedication to learning about making and widening our views on the role pottery and other crafts play in contemporary society.

1 Introduction

> *"We can achieve a more humane material life, if only we better understand the making of things".*
>
> *(Sennett, 2008: p.8)*

1.1 Subject and focus

This study investigates the making of commercial tableware by hand on the potter's wheel (i.e. hand-thrown) in contemporary British workshops. It is a practice-led study (Rust et al., 2007; Candy, 2006) of making processes situated within studies of contemporary pottery and ceramics and, more generally, of craft and design. Hand-thrown tableware includes a range of functional pottery typologies "used for serving and eating meals at a table" (Oxford Dictionary, 2017), such as plates, bowls, mugs, cups and jugs. These functional craft products are made in batches by potters who often also produce a limited range of more individual pieces. Tableware of this type is typically sold in shops, markets, open studios and fairs rather than galleries, although specialist ceramic galleries may also offer a selection.

Through the analysis of the sequence of operations involved in making mugs in three established workshops, the research offers an original framework for the study of contemporary handmade pottery practices. This informs a critical discussion of the work of professional British potters which addresses gaps and biases identified in literature.

1.1.1 Qualities and narratives of handmade ceramics

British craft practitioners today operate in a post-industrial economy in which the service sector has replaced manufacturing as the main source of income and employment. Goods can be cheaply manufactured and imported from abroad, and ceramics are no exception. The process of making pottery by hand on the potter's wheel may in some ways appear anachronistic but handmade pottery is appreciated for its uniqueness, artisanal origins and

direct relationship with makers. A recent article on leading specialist magazine *Ceramic Review* summarises this view:

> *"In a culture where we are surrounded by mass branding and cheap, machine-made items, handmade ceramics can prove a more enriching daily presence than the massproduced products that have flooded the market. Handmade ceramics are unique, represent our traditional cultural heritage, and often have personal stories associated with them. Objects with these qualities can seem to emanate a sense of integrity, connected to a deeper story about creativity and craftsmanship – something handmade ceramics generally possess in abundance" (Bray, 2018: p.46).*

This description introduces the work of three contemporary British practitioners who make tableware by hand. Significantly, it is not offered as a personal interpretation by a critic but as the mainstream, accepted explanation for the appeal of handmade ceramics in contemporary culture. The quote highlights underlining established narratives on contemporary handmade tableware. As Glenn Adamson observes (2010: p.5), craft values are read in opposition to those of 'machine-made' and 'mass produced' items. 'Cheap' has become a derogatory term. This is contrasted with the 'unique' qualities of handmade ceramics, and their embodiment of positive narratives such as 'traditional cultural heritage', 'personal stories', 'integrity', 'creativity' and 'craftsmanship'.

This research engages with characteristic physical 'qualities' we can appreciate in handmade ware, and their 'narratives', i.e. any concepts, ideas, values and other biographical or socio-cultural dynamics associated with pots, potters and pottery processes. These qualities and narratives form the vocabulary potters and authors use to describe the ware, and help explain the value of making tableware by hand in the UK today.

The concept of style relates to both aspects of the research. For Lechtman, "style is the pattern of interaction between qualities. Style is the recognition of a quality shared among many things" (1977: p.271). The qualities of tableware pottery define - and are defined by - its aesthetic style [described in Chapter 6]. The processes involved in making the ware are also stylistic, and the potters' styles of making are associated with distinctive narratives [discussed in Chapters 7 and 8].

1.1.2 A critical review of pottery practices

In the last two decades, the theory and praxis of craft have seen a resurgence in interest and have been 'reimagined' (Dahn, 2015: p.9; Frayling, 2012: p.7). Ceramics have led these

developments - or followed them very closely - with celebrated exhibitions (e.g. *Things of Beauty Growing* at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge in 2018; Claire Twomey's *Factory* at Tate Modern in 2017) and the opening of new dedicated spaces (e.g. the Centre of Ceramic Art (CoCA) in 2015, the refurbishment of V&A galleries in 2010). Regular ceramic and pottery fairs (e.g. Ceramic Art London, Earth & Fire at Welbeck, Art in Clay at Farnham and Hatfield) bring various strands of ceramics ever closer to the general public. The popularity of clay is epitomised by the commercial success of two seasons of the BBC programme Great Pottery Throw Down, watched by around 2 million viewers[3].

Recent years have seen an increase in pottery activities as a hobby or semi-professional practice, with many popular courses and open studio access newly available and in great demand (Maughan, 2018: p.22). At the same time, a significant decline is observed in university offer, when compared to 1980s and 90s (Guyatt, 2010). Cardiff School of Art and Design and Central Saint Martins college continue to offer undergraduate courses entirely dedicated to ceramics[4], whereas many other institutions shifted to 3D design, applied arts and contemporary crafts courses in which ceramics are only one component (Dahn, 2015: p.10; Ceramic Review, 2011). Specialisation in pottery and ceramics is mostly relegated to post-graduate courses (Dahn, 2015: p.10).

Functional pottery only occupies a small fraction of ceramic activities and studies. Beyond university courses, professional training is offered by a small number of centres and artists' workshops who focus on education (e.g. Clay College in Stoke-on-Trent, Kigbeare Studios in Devon, Leach Pottery in Cornwall). Potters also have the opportunity to develop their skills more independently but alongside others in maker spaces (e.g. Clay Studio in Manchester; Kiln Rooms in Peckham) and part-time classes in adult learning centres (e.g. Morley College and Kensington & Chelsea College in London).

In parallel with these developments in education and practice, authors have shown a renewed interest in ceramics and craft. Many key texts on craft appeared in the last 15 years (e.g. Risatti, 2007; Sennett, 2008; Frayling, 2012; Crawford, 2009; Adamson, 2007, 2010,

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3 www.theguardian.com/media/2015/nov/04/bbc-great-pottery-throw-down, accessed 8/1/18.

4 The colleges are part of Cardiff Metropolitan University and the University of the Arts London, respectively.

2013). Modern craft studies is emerging as a field of research in its own right, alongside other art and design studies (Adamson et al., 2017a: p.6). In ceramic studies, authors have focused on ceramic art 'in the expanded field' (Brown et al., 2016; Dahn, 2015).

The production of functional pottery has not attracted a similar wave of critical thinking, and despite an increase in communicating the value of the craft, most material has retained a primarily promotional purpose. Simplistic juxtapositions of descriptions of qualities, narratives and processes are common, often over-relying on images to communicate aspects of the craft which remain unarticulated. In addition to doctoral studies revolved around the focus of this research (e.g. Tyas, 2015; Shaw, 2007; Kay, 2007), important contributions to craft and pottery research have come from anthropologists and sociologists of making (e.g. Marchant, 2016; Gowlland; 2015; Ingold, 2013; O'Connor, 2005). Although the primary focus of social scientists is on social dynamics in pottery communities [as discussed in Section 2.1.3.3], their methods and theories for the analysis of making activities are of great relevance to craft and design studies. This thesis merges an interest in the analysis of processes and reflection in practice typical of craft and design research with ethnographic methods and a theoretical framework adapted from the social sciences.

1.2 Aims and objectives

1.2.1 Aims

At times in which much change is recorded in the practice and study of pottery making, and academic discussions remain scarce, this study aims to identify and discuss the interrelation among physical qualities of contemporary British hand-thrown tableware, narratives associated with its production, and the operations required to make the pots. This is used to generate a critical account of contemporary British pottery practices which is supported by evidence from the analysis of processes.

The enquiry addresses three main, interdependent research questions:

RQ1: What key design and manufacturing qualities characterise contemporary British hand-thrown tableware?

RQ2: What key narratives are associated with the making of contemporary British hand-thrown tableware?

RQ3: What is the relative importance of each making operation for generating key qualities and narratives associated with contemporary British hand-thrown tableware?

1.2.2 Objectives

Actions were required to generate, analyse and present data effectively. To achieve its overall aims, the study needed to:

OB1. Generate findings on professional British pottery practices by analysing and comparing three case studies, and locating them within the wider context;

OB2. Generate evidence of making processes through direct observation, filming, taking notes, making pots, and other direct and indirect methods;

OB3. Discuss making operations with the potters and collect information on the origins of their techniques;

OB4. Collect and discuss cultural interpretations of the potters' actions through extensive immersion in their places of work;

OB5. Elicit knowledge involved in making tableware pottery by directly experimenting and producing pots 'in the manner of' the participants observed, i.e. following procedures as close as possible to those observed on site;

OB6. Analyse and interpret information through textual and 'empathic' coding, i.e. coding conducted through making;

OB7. Construct taxonomies of making operations for each workshop analysed in the study based on key parameters, i.e. operational sequence analyses;

OB8. Contextualise findings within literature on pottery practices and craft studies;

OB9. Present the research strategy and key findings in visual form through extensive use of tables, photos, video stills and diagrams;

OB10. Demonstrate the validity of the research methods and findings.

1.3 Definitions and scope

Before providing an overview of how the research fulfils the aims described above, this section introduces the terminology used throughout the study. The clarifications below aim

to avoid any uncertainty derived from alternative definitions found in literature, and help define the scope of the study more precisely.

1.3.1 Pottery and ceramics

The word pottery is used throughout the study to indicate functional products made of clay for daily use, and typically fired between 1000 and 1370 °C. Authors agree the terms 'pottery' and 'ceramics' have different connotations:

> *"Ceramic is used to describe the scientific, technical and industrial aspects of clay, yet at the same time has been taken on by artists" (Wood, 1999: p.7).*

The word 'pottery' implies some connection with artisanal practices, and tends to automatically exclude more artistic and non-functional studio-based or 'post-studio' approaches (Dahn, 2015: p.10) that the words 'ceramic' and 'ceramics' retain. 'Pottery' could technically exclude hard, translucent porcelain and even high-fired stoneware (Adamson et al., 2017b: p.21). However, the term is used here more inclusively. Pottery is made of ceramic materials and the technical considerations of ceramic making also apply to pottery making. The study of pottery practices falls within ceramic studies.

The term 'pottery' is used in this study to indicate the ware, either in isolation or as in 'tableware pottery'. The expressions 'pottery workshop', 'workshop' or 'studio' are used to indicate the location of work [although some distinctions are made in relation to the case studies in Section 7.4.3]. Businesses are referred to by their proper names, e.g. Ewenny Pottery or simply Ewenny.

Within the category of pottery, the study focuses on functional tableware made for everyday use. This excludes purely decorative ware based on tableware typologies, in contrast with the views of some authors (e.g. Wildenhain, 1962: p.65).

British pottery differs from equivalent typologies produced in other contexts. Henry Glassie noted that:

> *"for the world's working majority, utility is a high value, the merely decorative seems trivial, and the greatest creations blend the aesthetic with the useful, just as the good meal blends flavour and nutrition" (1999: p.30).*

Hand-thrown tableware pots are not merely appreciated for their 'use value' as commodities (to use Marxian terms), but their functionality has important repercussions on their design

and manufacturing qualities, as discussed in Chapter 6.

1.3.2 Qualities

In this study, the term 'qualities' refers to visual and tactile characteristics of tableware pottery which can be appreciated through observation, touch and use. Fifty years before the quote cited in Section 1.1.1 was formulated, David Pye saw handmade qualities as superior to those of mass-production:

> *"[…] the range of qualities which mass-production is capable of just now is so dismally restricted; because each is so uniform and because nearly all lack depth, subtlety, overtones, variegation, diversity" (1995: p.19).*

In pottery literature, a similar claim was made by Bernard Leach in his influential *A potter's book*. For Leach, machine-made goods can be excellently designed, but ultimately lack the 'intimate qualities' of handmade ones (1978: p.2). Whilst avoiding hierarchical judgment among production methods, this study focuses on the distinct handmade qualities of hand-thrown tableware.

In line with Pye, this study recognises that qualities derive from workmanship (1995: p.17) rather than directly from materials or design; however, a practical distinction is made between 'design qualities' (e.g. the intended shape and profile of a handle) and 'manufacturing qualities' (e.g. characteristics derived from the execution of the handle). Design elements, their intended qualities and their actual execution by the potters are discussed alongside in Chapter 6.

The study engages with the notion that any variation in the methods of production of tableware pottery results in distinct qualities, or their absence. The discussion in Chapter 8 shows to what extent this occurs in the case studies analysed.

1.3.3 Narratives

In this study the term 'narratives' indicates concepts, ideas, values, stories and meanings attached to making processes, materials, tools, potters and the pots they produce. They include interpretations which potters and authors use to describe aspects of the process of making of pottery by hand, and which add layers of cultural meaning to an appreciation of the ware based on aesthetic and physical qualities.

In line with the social constructionist assumption followed in the study [Section 3.1.1.1], narratives can be subject to alternative and overlapping interpretations, e.g. multiple and distinct views can be linked to the same aspects of production. This study identifies narratives in the process of making tableware which relate to personal histories (e.g. initial training, injuries, experience abroad), work dynamics (e.g. quality control procedures, division of labour, efficiency) or wider socio-cultural associations (e.g. studio pottery, country pottery, family traditions, oriental influences), [as discussed in Section 7.1.1].

1.3.4 Salience

This study refers to salience as the relative importance of a given operation in the making of hand-thrown tableware to produce either a tangible physical quality in the final ware (i.e. manufacturing salience) or to affect narratives associated with it (i.e. cultural salience). Each gesture, technique or choice can affect the visual and tactile qualities we appreciate in the pots. The research links pottery making operations with the physical qualities of the ware. The assessment of manufacturing salience engages with the making of pottery as a chemical, physical and mechanical process which involves potters, methods of production, tools and machinery.

The study is also concerned with the cultural aspects involved in the making of pottery by hand: technical explanations are often accompanied by personal interpretations of meanings and values. The term 'culture' is used in this study to indicate the set of shared attitudes, values, goals, and practices (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2018) that characterize the potters' work. Thus, cultural salience may refer to the narratives linked to individual potters or the workshop in which they operate. This important distinction addresses a generalisation commonly made in literature, identified in Section 2.3.

Based on these definitions, the primary research question in Section 1.2.1 can be rephrased as:

RQ3b. What is the manufacturing and cultural salience of the operations involved in making British hand-thrown tableware?

1.3.5 British

The term 'British' is used pragmatically to locate the research (and its case studies) within

geographic and cultural borders. The precise meaning of the term remains problematic, as contemporary potters can integrate personal styles with local traditions and influences from abroad. 'British' refers to the location of the pottery workshops, rather than the nationality of the potters. International potters based in the UK are included in the study and their work is discussed in the practice review [Section 2.2].

This also applies to the case studies: the Leach Pottery in Cornwall, Ewenny Pottery in Wales and Maze Hill Pottery in London. Most potters at the Leach Pottery at the time of the interviews were from outside the UK. However the workshop is located in St. Ives, it has become synonymous with a style of English pottery and produces tableware for the British market. All other participants to the study were of British nationality, and worked and sold their work in the UK.

The label 'British' poses additional difficulties when used to describe aspects such as design or decoration. The pots produced at the Leach Pottery are inspired by the characteristic hybrid of 'oriental' and English traditions which Bernard Leach introduced to the UK in the 1920s (LP89). The style has influenced potters across the globe, but can also be described as quintessentially British and characteristic of the English studio pottery movement (Stair, 2002: p.26).

At Ewenny, the historical style was more locally confined to British influences but the label 'Welsh' poses similar questions on its locality. In fact, traditional slipware is often discussed as English slipware, or the work of English country potters (e.g. Brears, 1974), but Ewenny ware developed in Wales in close contact with North Devon practices (Lewis, 1982) and shows great similarities with, for example, the pots produced at the Fremington and Barnstaple potteries [as shown in Section 7.2.2].

Finally at Maze Hill, Lisa Hammond is a renowned British potter who has developed a personal style heavily influenced by Eastern aesthetics and philosophies of making. Her pots show a clear Japanese influence on form and decoration. Her apprentice Florian Gadsby studied ceramics in Ireland and makes personal work which embraces the austerity of Song Dynasty pottery.

1.3.6 Contemporary

The study is concerned with tableware produced in the UK at the time of writing. The participants - and the potters reviewed in Section 2.2 - are professionals who are currently making a living out of producing commercial tableware, alongside other typologies.

The study excludes potters who are no longer producing functional tableware for everyday use (e.g. Richard Batterham) or have shifted their production towards more personal, one-off pots aimed at the studio and art markets (e.g. Phil Rogers, Jim Malone), even when their work is discussed in relatively recent literature on contemporary tableware (e.g. Rupert Spira's work in Bloomfield, 2013). However, their voices remain relevant to the discussion, and have informed this thesis.

1.3.7 Manufacturing

The term 'manufacturing' is more commonly associated with the industrial production of goods, rather than its etymological origin from the latin *manu factum*, i.e. made by hand. As this study focuses entirely on the making of pottery by hand, the term 'manufacturing' is intended here in a broader sense as referring to processual aspects of making. It is used, for example, in opposition to 'design' to indicate the ways in which pottery is produced, rather than conceived. It is also used in the notion of 'manufacturing salience' - as opposed to 'cultural salience' - to refer to technical aspects relating to the making process, rather than its cultural interpretations.

1.3.8 Craft

Craft is a polythetic concept which shows an "inherent capacity and flexibility to shed and absorb new 'defining' criteria" (Marchand, 2016: p.3). In this study, the word is used to indicate the making activity involved in the transformation of materials by hand, often with the use of simple tools and machinery. Craft making is "the sublime confluence of hand, mind, body, and eye working together to create an object that is beautiful, practical, functional, and challenging" (ibid: p.xvii). As anticipated in Section 1.1.1, for Adamson 'craft' is a "term established and defined through difference" with other means of production, "chiefly mechanization, fine art and technological mediation" (2010: p.5).

This thesis contributes to craft research with an analysis of contemporary pottery practices.

1.3.9 Mugs

The focus on tableware in this study derives from the need to limit its scope to a range of typologies whilst being representative of the production of functional pottery in the UK. Among tableware, the mug is used as a comparative typology across the case studies, for theoretical and practical reasons.

Hamer and Hamer define mugs as drinking vessels for informal occasions (2015: p.238). Mugs' design poses many challenges for the potter, and more so because of the intimacy of their use (Hopper, 2000: p.159). The association of mugs with the consumption of tea by the masses makes them a key typology among tableware for everyday use in the UK.

For Karen Ann Wood, the mug is:

> *"the pot that gives the greatest direct physical contact with the buyer and user. A mug or cup cannot be used sitting on the table. It has to be touched by the hand, by the lips" (1999: p.101).*

Wood laments industrial producers for offering "some of the most blatantly nondesigned objects ever produced by man or machine" and believes "only studio and workshop potters explore the form in any significant way" (1999: p.99), a view not shared by this study. However, the mug is clearly an ideal typology to discuss qualities and narratives of hand-thrown tableware. At the Leach Pottery, the potters explained getting the mug right is the first step towards making the rest of the range (LP96). Also, since all participants were more or less proficient in making mugs, direct comparisons could be drawn across cases. At Ewenny, Caitlin and Alun Jenkins showed some preference in making other typologies but were equally dedicated to making mugs. At the Leach and Maze Hill potteries, not all participants could make more demanding shapes but they could all make mugs.

Studying mugs enables the analysis of a large number of different operations: a maximum of 79 were identified in this study. The analysis of other typologies, such as jugs and plates, generated information on operations not required for the mugs, e.g. turning, adding spouts or altering shapes.

Finally, the relative simplicity of the process also enabled making mugs on and off site for further reflection on the methods observed, as described in Section 3.2.7.

1.3.10 Craftsmen, potters, makers, practitioners and participants

The study avoids the use of the gendered word 'craftsman' to indicate a profession often undertaken by women. The term is still widely used in literature (e.g. Sennett, 2008) alongside the alternative 'craftsperson' (e.g. Adamson, 2010; Donald, 2012; Dormer, 1994). In this study 'craftsperson' is used alongside other non-gender-specific terms such as 'potter', 'practitioner', 'participant' and 'maker'.

The term 'craftsmanship' also has gendered connotations but it is used in the study for its clear meaning, and for lack of a better word (and David Pye's 'workmanship' (1995: p.17) fails to resolve the issue).

1.3.11 Clarifications on the scope of the study

The definitions offered above effectively outline the scope of the study. Some further clarifications are provided below. The study *is not* about:

- Art ceramics, even when based on tableware typologies. The study excludes unique pieces or works produced in small numbers, primarily sold in galleries. Although potters may produce art pieces alongside functional everyday ware, the study focuses on the latter. For example, the interviews with Lisa Hammond also covered her individual work sold through galleries but the focus was on her tableware range.

- Tableware thrown in ceramic factories. The study acknowledges potential overlaps and similarities between the work of throwers in factories and that of throwers in small workshops. This may extend the applicability of the research findings to other production contexts, however ceramic factories fall outside the scope of this study as they operate in conditions - and utilise technologies - which differ from those of craft pottery.

- Hand-making practices based on methods of production other than throwing, such as hand-building and slip-casting. However, similarities can be drawn between these and throwing, and a number of considerations discussed in this study would apply across techniques.

- The work of amateurs, part-time makers and potters whose income does not primarily derive from producing pots. The study is an analysis of professional

practices which operate as financially sustainable businesses.

1.4 Thesis structure

This section explains the structure of the thesis and introduces its main contents. The diagram in Figure 1.2 summarises the relationships among the chapters. The research methods employed in the study result in findings on qualities, narratives and salience of operations which address the questions posed in Section 1.2.1. Their contribution to the study of pottery practices is discussed in relation to gaps and biases identified in current literature [Section 9.1.1].

1.4.1 Chapter 2: Contextual review

The research employs concepts and terminology from craft studies and social sciences to describe dynamics involved in making tableware pottery by hand. The study of craft activity requires tools for the elicitation of tacit knowledge (Dormer, 1994; Polanyi, 1966) and reflection-in-action (Schön, 1983). A potter's technological style (Lechtman, 1977) guides the making of pots, and can be explained using Bourdieu's notion of habitus (1992). The theoretical framework for the analysis of salience is based on the concept of operational sequence (Leroi-Gourhan, 1993) and incorporates key terminology employed by ethno-archaeologist Olivier Gosselain (2000, 1992).

The study of hand-thrown tableware pottery practices lacks a well-established critical and academic literature, but the topic is covered by a diverse range of sources as part of wider categories, such as studio pottery or ceramics. These are reviewed in relation to their contribution to the discussion of qualities, narratives and salience of making operations. Printed sources include catalogues (Adamson et al., 2017b), anthologies of pottery (Bloomfield, 2013; Hopper, 2000; Jones, 2007; Rogers, 2003, 2002), histories of craft and ceramics (Cooper, 2010, 2009; De Waal, 2003; Harrod, 1999), recollections (Caiger-Smith, 1995; Cardew, 2002; Leach, 1978) and critical studies of ceramics (Tyas, 2014; Kay, 2007; Shaw, 2007; Rhodes, 1978; Rawson, 1971).

The research also greatly benefited from visual material such as historical films of potters at work (e.g. Anderson and Fournier, 1965; Ladybird Cine Group, n.d. (1960s)), documentaries (e.g. Holman, 2011; Goldmark, 2012d, 2014a) and numerous online

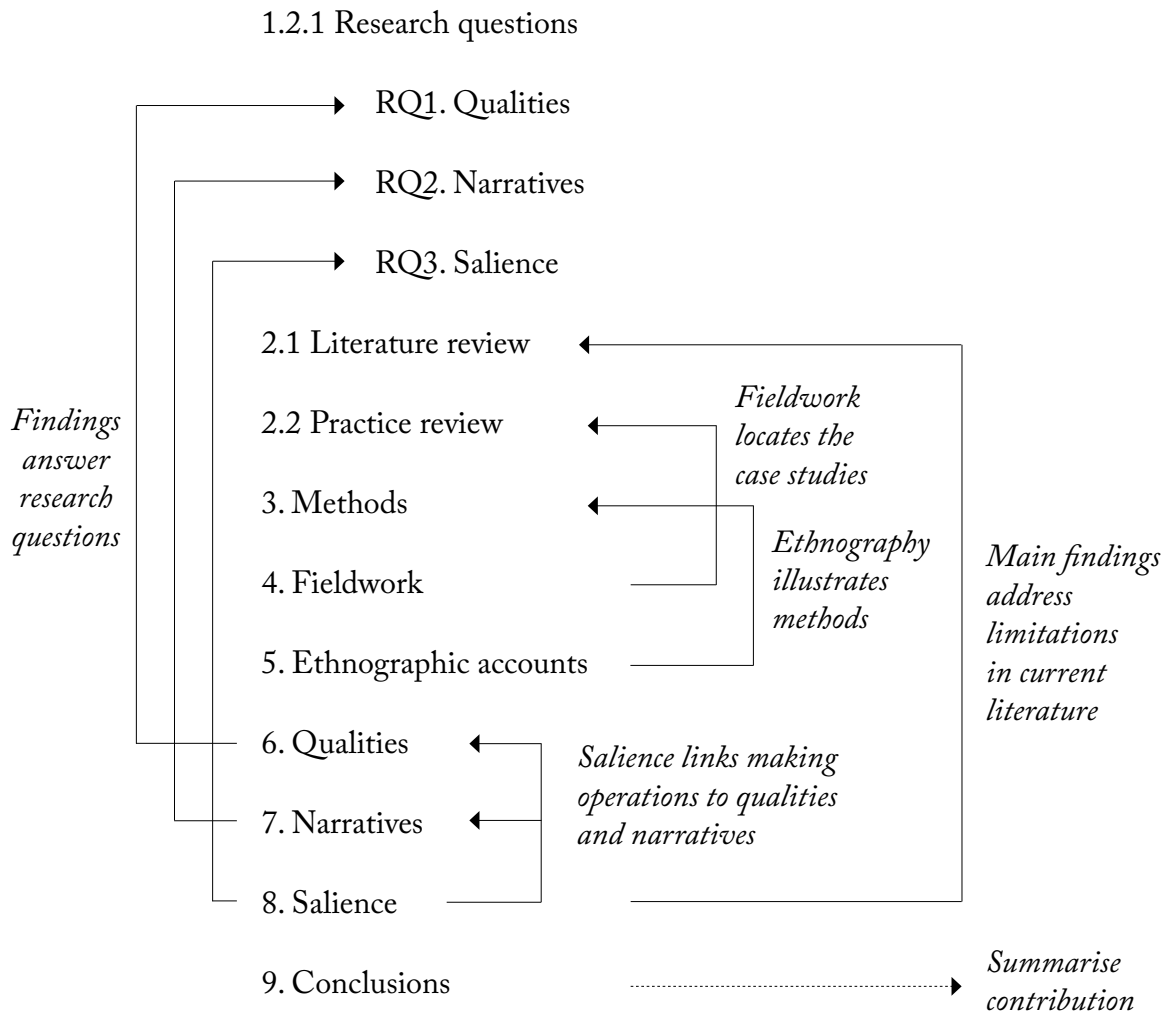

Figure 1.2 Thesis structure, indicating the relationships among chapters and key sections

video tutorials. Social media (i.e. instagram.com) provided further access to processes and interpretations.

Social scientific studies of craft activity come close to the scope and methods of this research (Marchand, 2016; O'Connor, 2005; Gowlland, 2015) but retain a focus on enskillment, social behaviour or cultural identity. Many sources which explore pottery processes more directly present simplistic overviews or merely juxtapose alternative approaches, without discussing the dynamics behind their differences. Potters who write about pottery can offer great insights (e.g. Rogers, 2002; Jones, 2007) but tend to adhere to personal standpoints which fail to capture the variety found across texts and workshops.

Overall the review identifies many gaps in current literature, which overlook important aspects of professional pottery practices. This is illustrated by a closer look at texts on the operations of centring, ribbing and handling.

The practice review discusses key characteristics of contemporary tableware pottery practices in the UK, based on a study of 78 practitioners which covered their main approaches to making, materials, aesthetic styles, years of experience, training histories and social media presence. For ease of reference, potters are grouped into five main categories: Earthenware Potters, Country Orientalists, Stoneware Studio Potters, Production Modernists and Urban Minimalists. This provides an indication of predominant approaches, and locates the case studies within British practices.

1.4.2 Chapter 3: Research methods

The methods employed in the research were designed to address the research questions efficiently, with the resources available. The research is qualitative and uses a practice-led (Rust et al., 2007) interpretive approach based on hermeneutics (Gadamer, 2004). Knowledge was socially constructed by the potters and their peers, and information was captured by interaction with the researcher through conversations, filming and reflection.

The mixed methods approach used in the study enabled some elicitation of tacit craft knowledge, facilitated the discussion of technical and cultural aspects of making with the practitioners and recorded evidence of their actions for subsequent analysis. Findings were produced through continuous triangulation among contextual review, analysis of

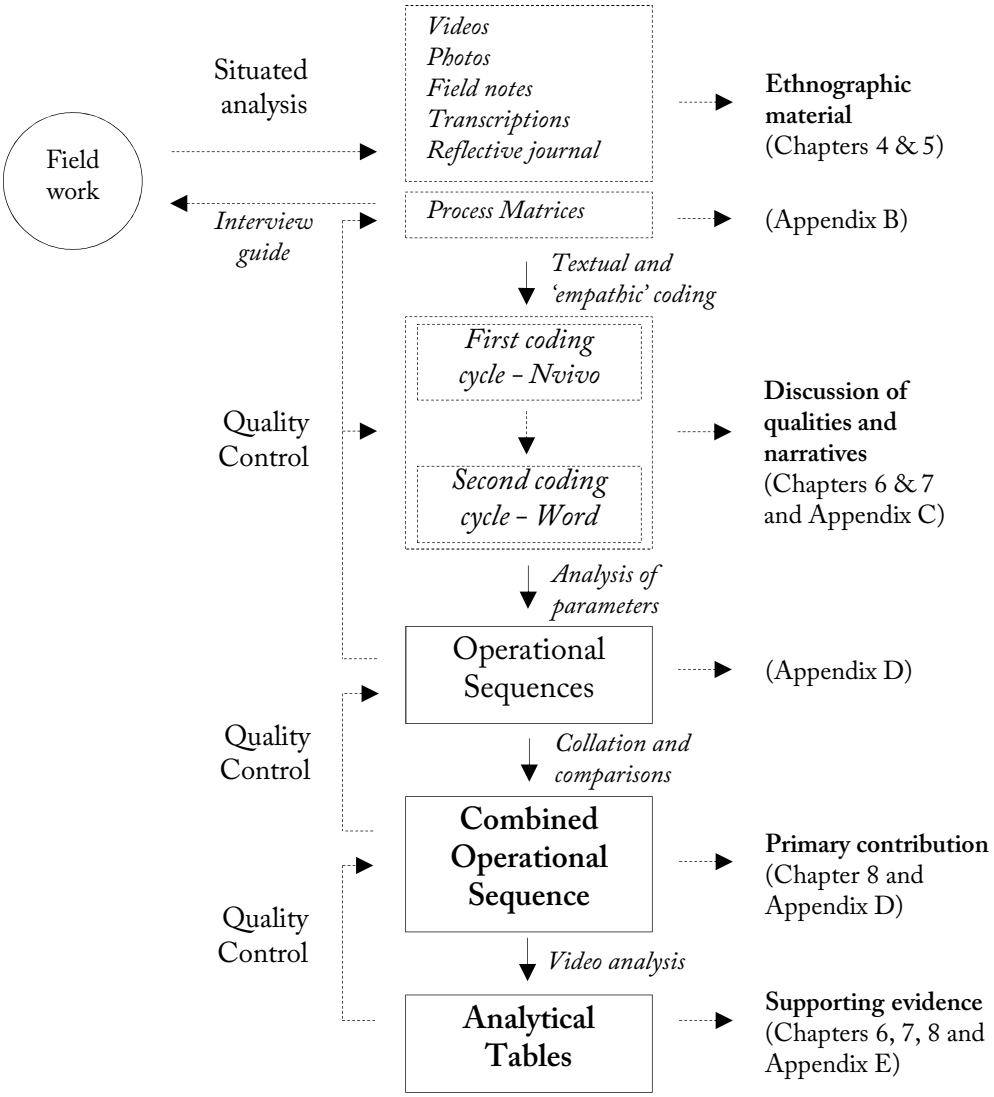

Figure 1.3 Diagram of the analytical process, showing how the findings of the study were produced

ethnographic case studies and reflective practice.

Methods include video-interviews with practitioners (Pink, 2013), videos of processes (Gowlland, 2015; Harper, 2013), photos, a reflective journal (Emerson et al., 1995) and pottery making. Information generated through each method feeds into the emerging knowledge, establishing a hermeneutic circle of understanding which is then evaluated and developed into the research findings.

The concept of 'empathic coding' (Harkins, 2018) is defined as coding through making 'in the manner of' the practitioner observed. This is used alongside propositional coding of interview transcripts and texts [Appendix C]. All codes are then analysed for relevance, patterns and frequency (Saldaña, 2009; Rubin and Rubin, 2005).

All material is gradually compiled into 'process matrix' tables [extracts in Appendix B], to ensure a systematic, efficient and complete coverage of all steps involved in making the case studies' mugs (Figure 1.3). Each operation in the making sequences is then assessed using descriptive and evaluative parameters. Data is iteratively compiled and directly compared across case studies at a high resolution, to produce 'operational sequence' tables of pottery processes [Appendix D]. This results in the systematic analysis of each operation involved in the making of mugs, and identifies their manufacturing and cultural salience. Further video-analysis supports the discussion of more specific aspects of making, such as the resilience of a potter's technological style and the evolution of skills over time [example in Appendix E].

The findings emerged from the research demonstrate the validity of the methods in eliciting making knowledge, analysing pottery processes, and offering critical accounts which contribute to the current understanding of professional practices.

1.4.3 Chapter 4: Fieldwork

The chapter introduces the three case studies informing the research, including historical background for each workshop and information on the participants. It describes the settings in which the core data of the study was collected, illustrates the workshops' layouts and describes the level of engagement with the participants. It also summarises how first-hand experience of making the pots on and off site contributed to the generation and

validation of research findings.

Additional fieldwork experiences in Oxford, Ghana and Japan provided a wider context to test and challenge meanings associated with contemporary British hand-thrown pottery, especially in relation to concepts and approaches originated in the East and those developed from a technological environment comparable to the contemporary artisanal practices experienced in West Africa.

1.4.4 Chapter 5: Ethnographic accounts

The experiences on site are rendered through short ethnographic texts written in the first person. These act as a bridge between the background information presented in Chapter 4 and the findings of later chapters. They consist of short extracts of the 'micro-ethnographies' (Wolcott, 1990 cited in Bryman, 2008: p.403) produced for the study to map the technical, social and cultural dynamics underlying the production of tableware in the workshops.

Each section presents 'a day in the life' of the participants observed. The accounts describe the settings and methods in which the information was gathered, illustrate the daily work of the potters with examples of tasks and rhythm of work, and give some indication of the interaction between researcher and participants. They help focus on the distinctive conditions in which tableware is produced in each workshop, and suggest great variety in cultural approaches to making, which is a central theme of the study. Finally, they support the detailed descriptions of qualities, narratives and processes which constitute the findings of the study.

1.4.5 Chapter 6: Qualities

Design and manufacturing qualities of hand-thrown tableware pottery are examined in light of evidence emerging from the coding of interviews, analysis of products and reflection on making the ware. Visual qualities such as considerations of form, colour and texture, and tactile qualities such as roughness, smoothness, weight and balance are analysed for the three mug designs.

The discussion follows the appreciation of qualities in the potters' own views, and is completed by inspections of physical examples and reflection by reproducing the pots 'in the manner of' the participants. Mugs are used as a comparative typology to provide a

high-resolution analysis of qualities and design elements across the case studies, and inform the detailed analysis of narratives and processes of later chapters.

In line with much literature on the subject, the analysis assumes the perspective of the 'completed' pot, i.e. a new, fired mug ready for sale. Further insights are provided by considering alternative temporal contexts: the evolution of qualities during the making of a batch, any changes in design and execution recorded over the years, and the patina which pots may acquire with usage.

The findings cover a variety of aesthetic styles, and reveal a multiplicity of views and interpretations on what constitutes key qualities of handmade ware. Also, they set out the discussion of narratives and salience of making operations presented in later chapters.

1.4.6 Chapter 7: Narratives

The intimate discussions of making processes on site revealed multiple narratives associated with pots, potters and pottery processes. The study focuses on dynamics involved in the professional production of pottery, including biographical, technical and socio-cultural narratives. Biographical narratives engage with personal histories of training, travels, injuries and anatomical traits, aspects relating to personal expression and, more generally, the attitude of individual potters. Technical narratives expand step-by-step descriptions of processes to include notions of functionality, design awareness, economy of processes, production volume, quality control and commercial focus. Socio-cultural narratives refer to pottery traditions, the history of the workshops, the origins of methods, inspirations and influences. Broad approaches to making such as country, studio or production pottery are identified or suggested.

Three key narratives are discussed for each workshop, identified by coding all material and supported by video analysis of techniques. This demonstrates a great diversity of approaches, whose discussion continues in Chapter 8.

1.4.7 Chapter 8: Salience

The chapter discusses the manufacturing and cultural salience of each making operation required to make the three case study mugs. In examining technological styles, a distinction is made between methods originated in potters' training and work histories, and the

approaches encouraged in their current workshops. This provides further elicitation and interpretation of narratives.

Processes involved in making the case study mugs are related to the key qualities and narratives discussed in previous chapters. The analysis shows manufacturing salience is concentrated in key operations, whereas cultural salience is high across the sequence. Interpretations of manufacturing operations show much diversity in professional practices.

The original framework developed for the research, and its application for the analysis of the case studies, constitutes the primary contribution of the study to the understanding of contemporary British pottery practices, and other crafts. This systematic approach leads to the reappraisal of phases and operations relatively overlooked in pottery manuals, such as centring, ribbing and handling. Other aspects involved in handmade processes are considered across operations and phases, such as the use of water, the timing of execution of each task and the 'little details' which characterise proficient making.

1.4.8 Chapter 9: Conclusions

The final chapter presents an overview of findings, discussed in relation to the research questions posed in Chapter 1 and the gaps and biases identified in Chapter 2.

The main contribution to knowledge of the study is the systematic analysis of the salience of the entire operational sequence involved in making mugs in the three case study workshops.

The findings can inform methods for documenting and teaching making processes, for describing operations in instructional publications, and for complementing information provided in curated contexts with narratives rooted in the evidence of making processes.

Findings are validated by the transparent execution of the research methods and by the correlation across the case studies among the distribution of salience, the narratives collected in conversations with the potters and the evidence from the video analysis.

The thesis ends with recommendations for future research.

1.4.9 Appendix A: Practice review

The study made use of a large amount of data from diverse sources. Information to support

the thesis is included in the appendices.

Appendix A includes the list of the 78 British pottery practices reviewed for the discussion in Chapter 2.

1.4.10 Appendix B: Fieldwork

Extracts from the process matrix tables show a sample of the information gathered on and off site in each workshop. This includes a photo and a description of the processes for mug production followed by each participant.

1.4.11 Appendix C: Coding

The list of codes resulting from the first cycle of textual coding of all material is shown in tables exported from the Nvivo software.

1.4.12 Appendix D: Operational sequences

The operational sequence tables provide the original analysis of salience in full form. The analysis of Ewenny is included to illustrate the approach. The combined operational sequence shows only key parameters but provides a direct comparison across cases, which informed Chapter 8.

1.4.13 Appendix E: Analytical tables

Appendix E.1 shows the evolution of Matt Foster's throwing skills to exemplify the analysis of videos of processes conducted for the study.

2 Contextual review

> *"I thought that, as in Japan, the work would speak for itself. But I have been forced to the conclusion that, except to the very few, this is not the case, and that unless the potter, weaver, wheelwright, or other craftsman, tells his own tale, no one else will or can do it for him".*
>
> *(Leach, 1928: p.2)*

2.1 Literature review

2.1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of literature on tableware pottery, including the contextual material which directly informed the content of this study and the key theories which guided its development [whereas literature on methods is discussed in Chapter 3]. This is followed by a review of contemporary British pottery practices in Section 2.2.

The review starts with key concepts which helped build up a theoretical framework for this research. A brief discussion of key contributions from craft scholars and social sciences to the study of craft making locates the study in relation to recent publications on craft theory, material culture, anthropology, sociology and archaeology. Recent developments in ceramic theory are indicative of a renewed interest in clay as a material for expression; a brief summary highlights the marginal interest functional pottery attracts in those publications.

Finally, a diverse body of publications on pottery practices is reviewed in terms of their treatment of qualities, narratives and material processes associated with the production of British hand-thrown tableware: their coverage, depth of analysis, and the standpoints assumed by the authors. The discussion surveys progress in the field, highlights differences with this study's approach and identifies gaps and biases in current publications. It also introduces key terminology and notions used in later chapters. Literature on operations involved in centring, ribbing and handling pots is examined in more detail, to inform the critical analysis presented in Chapter 8. Overall, this section locates the study within literature on pottery and wider craft studies.

2.1.2 Key concepts

2.1.2.1 Tacit knowledge

A much-cited concept in craft research is that making involves *tacit knowledge*, reflecting the idea that "*we can know more than we can tell*" (Polanyi, 1966: p.4; original italics). For Michael Polanyi, tacit knowledge can only be transmitted to an apprentice via exposure to a master (2005: p.55), a common concept in craft studies (e.g. Dormer, 1994: p.11). Emma Shaw notes how the concept of tacit knowledge was used by Peter Dormer (1997) as a framework to talk about craft (Shaw, 2007: p.47). Dormer described thinking in the crafts as residing "not in language, but in the physical processes involving the physical handling of the medium" (1994: p.24). This type of craft is "unrecoverable by words" and "can only be demonstrated, not described" (ibid: p.23). The uninterrupted transmission of tacit knowledge is key for a tradition to stay alive, for "an art which has fallen into disuse for the period of a generation is altogether lost" (Polanyi, 2005: p.55).

Polanyi's writings are still relevant to craft and design studies, and the notion of tacit craft knowledge remains at the core of explorations of craft practices (e.g. Shercliff, 2014: p.71; Boyes and Cousins, 2009: p.289) and historical studies of craft (Harrod, 1999: p.227). Already in *Personal knowledge*, Polanyi had introduced the distinction between 'focal awareness' and 'subsidiary awareness' in performing a task using tools (1958: p.58), which continues to inform studies of enskillment (e.g. Shercliff, 2014: p.161; O'Connor, 2005: p.5). He explained that the subsidiary knowledge that craft authors attribute to craft making is by its very nature unspecifiable, i.e. one can know that one knows but not what one knows (Polanyi, 2005: p.91). For Polanyi, its articulation is always non-exhaustive and this applies to both skills and knowledge (ibid: p.92).

Contrary to these premises, craft researchers have maintained an interest in the quest for translating tacit and embodied knowledge in more propositional forms to enable the transmission of craft processes (e.g. Wood, 2006). Others, such as, Haridimos Tsoukas, reject the notion that tacit knowledge is awaiting to be translated into explicit form. For Tsoukas, "tacit knowledge cannot be "captured", "translated", or "converted" but only displayed and manifested, in what we do" (2011: p.473). We can discuss tacit tasks if we "start recursively drawing our attention to how we draw each other's attention to things"

(ibid: p.472). Tsouka's suggestion that "tacit and explicit knowledge are not the two ends of a continuum but the two sides of the same coin" (ibid) is convincing. However, the elicitation of tacit and implicit knowledge forms the premise of practice-based research (Candy, 2006: p.5).

This study also makes a pragmatic distinction between actions which can be effectively communicated verbally or in written form (i.e. explicitly, such as glaze recipes, design dimensions or firing procedures) and those which require observation and practice over time (i.e. have a strong tacit, embodied component, such as centring clay on the wheel or pulling a handle off a mug).

2.1.2.2 Reflection in practice

Donald Schön also engages with the issue of translating knowledge, believing that "competent practitioners usually know more than they can say" (Schön, 1983: p.viii) and a practitioner's intuitive knowing is always richer in information than any description, but partial descriptions can feed reflection, "enabling the inquirer to criticize, test, and restructure his understandings" (ibid: p.277). He recognises the need to convert "knowing-in-action", which remains tacit, into "knowledge-in-action" which can be discussed in words and put to experimental test (ibid: p.59). In this study, tacit craft knowledge is elicited through conversations with the potters (who provide descriptions of their own knowledge-in-action) and the researcher's reflection by making.

Schön distinguishes between reflection *in* and *on* action. Reflection-in-action can be used to describe professional practice and also ways in which knowledge is acquired (i.e. making pottery and learning to make pottery, respectively). It also applies to the method, employed in this study, of making 'in the manner of' the potters observed [Section 3.2.7] and, more generally, it resonates with many practice-led studies in art, craft and design (Scrivener, 2000).

2.1.2.3 Habitus

Pierre Bourdieu's notion of habitus (1992) is commonly discussed in craft studies, and can help examine the embodiment of craft knowledge (Cumberpatch, 1997: p.126). Habitus is defined as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" which operate within a "field" (Bourdieu, 1992: p.53).

The idea that craftspeople's actions are shaped by their "embodied history, internalized as a second nature" (ibid: p.56) is central to this thesis. Habitus helps explain the "inextricability of the technical from the social" (Prentice, 2016: p.169) which underlines the discussion in later chapters. For anthropologist Myriam Stark:

> *"Whether learned through formal education or through acculturation in daily life, habitus is reflected in the goods that people make" (Stark, 1999: p.28)*

The concept of habitus is employed by authors writing on the acquisition of skills (e.g. Portisch, 2010; O'Connor, 2005) and archaeological studies of techniques (e.g. Stark, 1999; Blinkhorn and Cumberpatch, 1997) which have informed this study. Erin O'Connor shows how learning a skill restructures a novice's habitus, and this begins to form the craft habitus (2005: p.7). Using Bourdieu's terminology, she describes proficiency in making as the interrelatedness of habitus and field, and the body's consequent ability to anticipate actions (ibid: p.14), a concept which echoes the progression from novice to expert described by Dreyfus and Dreyfus (1988; Dreyfus, 2004).

2.1.2.4 Flow

Psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi describes flow as "the state in which people are so involved in an activity that nothing else seems to matter" (Csikszentmihalyi: 1990, p.4). His theory has informed craft studies as it can explain the pleasure involved in being absorbed in one's tasks (e.g. Kettley, 2016: p.166; Shercliff, 2014: p.123). Peter Korn discusses flow extensively to define the origin of the "intrinsic pleasure of creative work" (2015: p.53).

In ceramic studies, Geoffrey Kay describes the discovery of Csikszentmihalyi's theory of flow as a 'breakthrough' in his research, and he employs it to explain how potters can overcome the tediousness involved in making repeated work (2007: p.231). Interestingly for this study, Kay links a state of flow in the making with qualities of output, as he suspects work produced in these conditions is "more accomplished, more efficiently produced, more elegant" (ibid: p.257) but offers no evidence to support his claim.

In the context of amateur craft, Stephen Knott finds the theory of flow of limited use (2011: p.191). For Knott, Csikszentmihalyi's theoretical framework is still bound to temporal experience, from which it only provides a temporary escape. The theory is insufficient to describe the atemporal detachment which can characterise the amateur

activities Knott is examining.

In the professional craft context discussed in this study tasks are expected to be linked to productivity. Flow is a component of any repetition work and the conversations with the potters were coded for any references to similar considerations [Section 7.1.1].

2.1.2.5 Technological style

The notion of *technological style* is adopted from archaeology (Lechtman, 1977: p.271; Gosselain, 2011: p.244; Hegmon, 1992: p.529). As anticipated in Section 1.1.1, for Heather Lechtman, the notion of 'style' applies to the aesthetic appearance of pottery (i.e. its qualities) as well as behavioural patterns in its making. Technological style can be defined as:

> *"the many elements that make up technological activities—for example, by technical modes of operation, attitudes toward materials, some specific organization of labor, ritual observances—elements which are unified non randomly in a complex of formal relationships" (Lechtman, 1977: p.271).*

The concept opposes technically deterministic explanations for the choice of operations performed by potters, and sees each action as "an original contribution to the solution of a problem" (Gosselain, 1992: p.580).

Gosselain points out the relationships between technique and culture have remained vague until recently even in anthropological studies (1992: p.559). Pottery making tasks can be performed in a number of ways and choices are culturally constructed: external constraints in technological systems are never sufficiently tight to dictate the patterns of learning (Lemmonier, 1983 cited in Gosselain, 1992: p.560). Methods reflect choices that are learned and transmitted socially, and therefore may be indicative of social interaction and historical context (i.e. they can be linked to narratives).

The concept of technological style addresses the need to focus away from more intentional (or 'iconological'; ibid: p.82) components of the aesthetic style of a pot (which are often the focus of catalogues and marketing material) to biographical, technical and socio-cultural narratives associated with potters, pots and processes. Similarities in the repeated formal arrangements make technological style visible (Lechtman, 1977: p.272), which justifies employing site observation and video analysis as appropriate research methods.

Isochrestic variation is observed in the range of methods and techniques that are 'equivalent

in use' (Sackett, 1982: pp.72-73, cited in Hegmon, 1992: p.522). This study identifies and discusses stylistic and isochrestic variants among the operations analysed in Chapter 8. Terry Childs reminds us that technological style includes stylistic, habitual and distinctive traits linked to isochrestic, passive and active variants (1991: p.336). This study also recognises active and passive components in a potter's technological style, and discusses the distinction between a workshop's instructions (i.e. active) and more embodied, personal methods (i.e. passive).

Miriam Stark notices a close relationship between technological style and Bourdieu's habitus, as learned behaviours are reflected in the goods people make (Stark, 1999: p.28). This is an important link which supports the adoption of the concept of technological style in contemporary craft studies, alongside the more commonly utilised notion of habitus.

2.1.2.6 Operational sequence

The systematic analysis of all operations involved in the making of pottery conducted in this study has origins in the concept of 'operational sequences' in archaeology (Leroi-Gourhan, 1993), also known as 'chaînes opératoires' or 'reduction sequences'[1]. This is defined as "the analysis of the series of operations involved in any transformation of matter" (Gosselain, 2011: p.245) based on the "chronological segmentation of the actions and mental processes required in the manufacture of an artefact" (Sellet, 1993: p.106).

For ethno-archaeologist Olivier Gosselain the operational sequence is:

> *"a powerful analytical tool because it imposes systematization in data collection, as well as the acknowledgement of a variety of elements—location, actors, gestures, tools, raw materials, duration, organization, vocabulary, rituals, and taboos, etc.—that are invariably brought together in the conduct of technical activities" (1992: p.246).*

In archaeology, the analysis of operational sequences of pottery is a standard method of enquiry, covered by a vast literature. In that context, the operational sequence extends from the procurement of the raw material to the discard of the object (Sellet, 1993: p.106), however this study only covers manufacturing operations. The sequence includes all making

1 The three terms belong to distinct traditions and are not entirely equivalent, but Shott (2003: p.95) argued the French 'chaîne opératoire' approach and the American 'reduction sequence' are substantially the same thing. This study employs the term 'operational sequence' to translate 'chaîne opératoire'.

operations from preparing clay to unloading the glaze kiln and finalising the pots for sale. The analysis of salience conducted in this study takes the form of the operational sequence analysis described in Appendix D.

2.1.2.7 Salience

As anticipated in Section 1.3.4, the concept of salience is central to this research. The study recognises the equal importance of each step in the making as the ceramic process consists of a continuum of operations. On the other hand, the premise of the research is that each making operation plays a potentially different role in the production of distinct qualities (i.e. manufacturing salience) or narratives (i.e. cultural salience).

Two ethno-archaeological studies inspired the use of salience as a key concept in the analysis of pottery making processes. Louise Allison Cort and Leedom Lefferts (2010) conducted an analysis of indigenous pottery in Southeast Asia which showed the importance of phases in the making that left no traceable qualities in the final ware, but were associated with key cultural traits. Similarly, Gosselain's study of Cameroonian potters developed "general propositions regarding the relationships between technological styles and aspects of social identity" (2000: p.187). Despite differences in contexts, these studies illustrated methods and offered appropriate terminology for the research.

Gosselain discusses the cultural salience of a given operation in the making of pottery "according to [manufacturing] salience, technical malleability, and the social context in which the techniques are learned and conducted" (ibid: p.191). Three main categories of pottery making phases are identified. Manufacturing operations which are visible in the final ware, technically malleable and easily transmittable display a tendency to fluctuate and reflect "more superficial, situational, and temporary facets of identity" (ibid). These include operations which leave visible traces on the pots, e.g. decoration, clay mixing and some firing techniques.

The second category consists of operations which are technically malleable and leave a visible trace on the ware, but are only shared among potters and their immediate neighbours and family. The potters are likely to adopt new techniques when conditions of work change, based on interaction with others rather than a different effect desired for the pots. These operations are linked to social networks of interactions and in Gosselain's study

they include clay collection, processing and firing (ibid: p.192).

Finally, other operations are based on motor habits, leave no trace on the final ware and are conducted on an individual basis, i.e. they show low technical malleability, low manufacturing salience[2] and low social context. This category is characterised by "an intimate connection with the primary learning process and great stability through time and space", reflecting "most rooted and enduring aspects of social identity" (ibid: p.193). In Gosselain's study these operations include primary forming, or fashioning stage, of the pots. In the terminology of this study - and in the context explored by Gosselain - the operations show low manufacturing salience and high cultural salience.

This study was informed by Gosselain's approach and terminology [Section 3.2.9.7] and some parallels in the findings are discussed in Section 9.1.5.

2.1.3 The context of craft studies

The study of pottery practice sits within the wider context of craft studies, with which it shares discussions of craftsmanship, authenticity, tradition, transmission of craft (and often tacit) knowledge and other themes, as well as research strategies for investigating them.

2.1.3.1 Craft theory and history

In 2007, Emma Shaw commented on the scarcity of critical studies on craft making in the 1990s and early 2000s (2007: p.46). In *Thinking through craft,* art and design historian Glenn Adamson noted that most writing about craft in the 20th century were medium-based and promotional, with only a minor portion of critical and historical texts (2007: p.1). Since then, many important publications on craft theory and history have been published. A renewed interest in the crafts and the handmade in recent years (Frayling, 2012: p.7; Dahn, 2015: p.9) has been accompanied by new theoretical and historical studies in disciplines as diverse as art history, anthropology, material culture and design studies. Whilst recognising its inherent interdisciplinarity, craft studies have come to constitute a distinct branch with its own journals and key texts (Adamson et al., 2017a: p.6).

David Pye offers a useful distinction between 'workmanship of risk' and 'workmanship of certainty', to indicate the skilful abilities of the master craftsman and making guided

2 Gosselain simply refers to 'salience' to indicate 'manufacturing salience' in his study. See Section 3.2.9.7.

by tools and machinery, respectively (1995: p.20). Pye's writings remain influential in craft studies (e.g. Loh et al., 2016; Risatti, 2007; Kay, 2007), with many scholars directly engaging with his theories and conclusions (Adamson, 2010: p.341).

Howard Risatti's *A theory of craft* (2007) concludes on the distinctiveness of craft from art. He follows Pye's identification of craftsmanship with 'workmanship of risk' (1995: p.20), only to disagree on the definition of workmanship (Risatti, 2007: p.169). He sees craftsmanship as relating to Aristotelic *poiesis* in which theory and practice (i.e. concept and execution) are integrated. In his attempt to celebrate craft objects, he exposes a needlessly limited conception of what a craft object is or can be, which betrays a bias towards studio crafts. This study recognises, with Risatti, that craftsmanship "entails transformation of our direct sensuous experience of nature into a world of culture" but rejects the need to pursue this goal "in the service of invention and the creative imagination" (ibid: p.170). Risatti's concise and elegant description of craftsmanship as a "unified process of formalizing material and materializing form" (ibid: p.169), places more emphasis on originality than it is required to describe the making of tableware pottery discussed in this study. The originality of a craft object can be appreciated as a distinct quality from the craftsmanship of its creation, or execution.

Loh, Burry and Wagenfeld (2016) review Pye's theories in the context of digital craft and assess levels of risk at different stages in the making, an approach which relates to the systematic analysis conducted for this study [Section 3.2.9.7]. The authors observe that "a defined bandwidth of tools and techniques applied to a specific material leads to a repertoire, within which a wide range of design variation is possible". The concept of technological style relates to their idea of 'repertoire', defined as "a *range* of styles or *varieties* of a language available to or mastered by an individual" (Loh et al., 2016: p.195; original italics). They also acknowledge:

> *"The crafted artefact is an embodiment of the practitioner's implicit knowledge, exercised through complex coupling of tools, techniques and materials. Through further social coupling, the ring [i.e. the artefact] gains sentimental value" (ibid: p.201).*

Despite differences in terminology, this illustrates the interrelationship of the qualities of the 'crafted artefact', the process of 'coupling of tools, techniques and materials' and the narratives linked to further 'social coupling', discussed in this thesis.

In her *The crafts in Britain in the 20th century*, Tanya Harrod mostly covers products "made and designed by the same person" (1999: p.10) although a wider definition of craft is recognised. Much discussion on craft in the last century focused on positioning craft in relation to art and design, the definition of the handmade and general considerations of status. Sandra Alfoldy edited a historical overview of writings on craft which explores its relationship with Modernism (2007). Glenn Adamson's influential *The craft reader* (2010), offers a more comprehensive overview of craft literature and insightful introductions for themes, which provided a historical and theoretical basis for this study[3]. Among many other contributions, Adamson highlights how Pye's analysis of workmanship covers both craft and industry and, unlike other authors, does not project ideological values onto the differences (2010: p.341).

Christopher Frayling's *On craftsmanship* discusses the appropriation of craft by advertising agencies and 'big manufacturers' (2011: p.9). His accounts are testimony of the importance of narratives in the appreciation of craft objects.

2.1.3.2 Material culture studies

An established tradition in material culture studies investigates the meaning of things (e.g. Candlin and Guins, 2009; Berger, 2009; Miller, 1998; Appadurai, 1986). These studies offer their readers "epistemological vantages for the study of objects" as ways for thinking about and through objects (Candlin and Guins, 2009: p.2). The analysis of narratives associated with handmade tableware pottery shares a common interest in the search for meanings behind physical products. In his review of material culture approaches, Arthur Asa Berger examines aspects of authenticity, technology, shape and style which resonate with narratives discussed in this study (2009: p.105), even if his applications mostly focus on aspects of consumption rather than the production of goods.

In *The social life of things*, Arjun Appadurai (1986) collected various contributions which present a biographical metaphor for the interpretation of materiality (Kopytoff, 1986). For

3 A study group named after Adamson's book (i.e. Craft Readers), started by the author and fellow doctoral students Bridget Harvey and Katherine Pogson, provided numerous opportunities for debate and contextualise this thesis within a wider context (www.craftreaders.co.uk). A joint presentation at the Making Futures conference in Plymouth in 2017 summarised achievements and lessons learned (proceedings awaiting publication).

Appadurai, things have "meanings" which "are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories", and even if from a theoretical point of view it is human actors who encode things with significance, from a methodological one social context can be revealed through a study of things (Appadurai, 1986: p.5).

In pottery studies, *The social life of pots* employs Appadurai's framework to provide a historical account of cultural dynamics in the Southwest of the USA (Habicht-Mauche et al., 2006), which also draws from the archaeological theories of technology employed in this study.

Ann-Sophie Lehmann provides a critical review of material culture studies on the importance of studying making processes, and particularly to extend their biographical metaphor to the production of artifacts. For Lehmann the biographical metaphor is limited as it looks away from the way artifacts are made (2012: p.10). This position underlines the analysis of processes and discussion of narratives in this research. In another article, she explores the material agency of clay, the action of its properties on forms and tools:

> *"the experience of what happens during the act of making might be called artistic knowledge, a knowledge embodied by the object made" (2009: p.45).*

However, Lehmann's "showing making" (2012: p.9) is an art historian's iconological study of historical depictions of artisans, rather than an examination of contemporary practice.

2.1.3.3 Anthropology and sociology

Until recently, scholars lamented the lack of interest in making processes in anthropology (Ingold, 2007: p.9; Lehman, 2009: p.47). Progress made since then include general reassessments of craftsmanship and making (Sennett, 2012, 2008; Ingold, 2013), studies in anthropology of enskillment (Marchand, 2016; Gowlland, 2016; O'Connor, 2005) and methods for capturing craft knowledge effectively (Gowlland, 2015; Pink, 2013; MacDougall, 2006).

The academic writings collected by Trevor Marchand (2016) and by Wilkinson-Weber and DeNicola (2016) are especially close to the scope of this thesis in identifying "forms of social organisation, cultural values, philosophies, and environmental factors that give rise to particular ways of working" (Marchand, 2016: p.19), but their goal is the definition of social dynamics rather than the technical understanding of processes and products. Marchand

summarised his interest in craft in a podcast interview:

> *"Craft opens up a huge world. Craft is not simply the making of things but it's the production and consumption of handmade objects. There's also the politics of making things by hand; there is also the social relations that are involved between craftspeople: there's a power hierarchy often between them, especially when you're talking about training regimes where there's a master and an apprentice, very interesting gender issues. So craft becomes a window onto an enormous social world" (2015b).*

Similarly, for Wilkinson-Weber and DeNicola "craft is a vital and fertile means to understand relationships between places, people, and time" (2016: p.1). They acknowledge the need for research on narratives, as "producers, designers, consumers, and policy makers use descriptors like tradition, authenticity, the handmade, integrity and so on to negotiate value in the marketplace, but the connection between discourse and actual relations and practices is typically a great deal more complex than what is implied" (ibid: p.4). The papers they collected offer a global overview of craft which includes activities in developing and mid-income countries, and this helps contextualise the discussion of craft in post-industrial societies.

Anthropologist Tim Ingold writes about making and technology, and his *Making* (2013) is especially influential in craft studies. Ingold makes a useful distinction between *hylomorphic* and *morphogenetic* making (ibid: p.20). Hylomorphism indicates the imposition of pre-conceived forms onto materials, "a transposition from image to object" (ibid: p.22). Instead, manufacturing by hand is a process of growth (i.e. morphogenetic) towards an original form held in the mind of a master craftsperson, and in which multiple artefacts are produced (sometimes by other craftspeople) by the confluence of forces and materials. This allows for the variation observed in handmade production [discussed in Section 6.5].

Richard Sennett is widely cited in craft literature for defining craftsmanship as "the desire to do a job well for its own sake" (2008: p.9), though his phrase "the skill of making things well" (ibid: p.8) is more useful in this context as it concerns the production of goods. Sennett criticises the identification of craft making as mere 'problem solving':

> *"Every good craftsman conducts a dialogue between concrete practices and thinking; this dialogue evolves into sustaining habits, and these habits establish a rhythm between problem solving and problem finding" (2008: p.9).*

In a more recent lecture, he reiterated his belief that "much of writing about craftsmanship

assumes there is one way to do something" (Mak, 2016: 12:54 minutes). This relates to Marchand's discussion of craftwork as problem solving (2016) and points to the limitation of the explanations provided in pottery manuals (reviewed in Section 2.1.5 below).

Finally, design anthropology is emerging as a new discipline (Gunn et al., 2013: p.5) which merges ethnographic tools for collecting and analysing information with a focus on the creation of products and solutions (Smith et al., 2016; Clarke, 2010). Anthropological and ethnographic studies of design differ considerably from the scope of this research, but their effective employment of ethnographic methods in design studies is notable.

2.1.4 The context of ceramic studies

The resurgence in craft-related activities in studios, museums and colleges (Dahn, 2015: p.9) includes a renewed interest in ceramics and pottery. Recent developments in ceramic studies accompanied those occurred in craft theory, and many craft scholars are also ceramic specialists (e.g. Glenn Adamson and Tanya Harrod). Echoing Adamson's contraposition of craft and industry (2010: p.5), in her *new directions in ceramics* Jo Dahn argues 'ceramics' are defined in opposition to 'pottery' (2015: p.17). The 'new directions' explored are those in performance, installation, raw clay and figuration (ibid: p.5), a distinct circle from that of craft pottery and hand-thrown tableware.

Emma Shaw's practice-based study (2007) follows a rigorous analysis of British ceramics which locates them within the wider craft context. Shaw's review engages with many themes explored in this study (e.g. craft values, authenticity and taxonomies of ceramics) but her interpretation of narratives is mostly based on material culture. Making processes are absent from the discussion, which is used to contextualise her personal practice.

Important studies of ceramics have emerged more recently (e.g. Adamson et al., 2017b; Dahn, 2015; Brown et al., 2016; Clark et al., 2006). In her introduction to *Contemporary clay museum culture* (Brown et al., 2016), Claire Twomey discusses the role of ceramic artists in museum and clay practice as a means for generating debate, an approach which characterises her artistic practice. In the same volume, Laura Breen (2016a) offers a historical analysis of British ceramic practices and the museum since 1970 based on her recent doctoral thesis (2016b). Breen's focus is also on 'art-oriented ceramic practice' in a museum context, and developments away from those of functional tableware.

2.1.5 Literature on hand-thrown pottery

In Dahn's view, the focus of much pottery literature on processes and materials is conservative; she is more interested in how something makes meaning than in how it is made (2015: p.14). This marks a distinction between studies of ceramics and those of functional pottery. Potters continue to engage with processes and instructional literature on techniques not to fetishise methods, as Dahn suggests (ibid), but because by reading about making processes they can increase their knowledge of the craft.

Hand-thrown tableware processes are directly examined in specialist literature aimed at - and often written by - potters. Much information on contemporary British practices is disseminated through a vast array of sources, but the level of insights and critical analysis rarely matches academic or professional standards. Another difficulty in locating literature on functional pottery is that it is mostly discussed as part of broader categories, such as studio pottery or ceramics, so that the specificities of producing tableware for daily use on the potter's wheel are lost in more general accounts. The sections below show how different strands in current literature on pottery practices address the discussion of qualities, narratives and processes explored in this study.

2.1.5.1 Anthologies of contemporary handmade tableware

Only a few sources are entirely dedicated to the study of contemporary functional pottery made by hand in the UK. Anthologies (e.g. Bloomfield, 2013; Walter, 2002; Wood, 1999) offer overviews of tableware typologies, each with a distinct focus. Linda Bloomfield's *Contemporary tableware* (2013) outlines key influences on contemporary products, both across countries (e.g. China, Japan) and in time (e.g. English slipware). Brief descriptions of typologies and making methods (including industrial manufacturing) accompany the illustrations, following a format common to many pottery texts.

A more detailed and critical historical narrative is offered by Karen Ann Wood in her *Tableware in clay* (1999), which includes a chapter about 'pots for drinking' and a section about mugs. Text on the history and function of various typologies accompanies photos of contemporary pots, which are only briefly described in the captions. Interestingly for this study, the book is subtitled 'from studio and workshop'. These two contexts are not clearly defined but the distinction is significant, as it acknowledges the difference between

individual studio potters and those working in larger commercial workshops.

Josie Walter's *Pots in the kitchen* (2002) offers a thorough account of the history and function of many pottery typologies. It focuses on pots for cooking and serving food (including Lisa Hammond's casserole dishes on p.113) and has a section on the legacy of Bernard Leach (ibid: p.37). It also contains inserts which discuss how well-established potters make some of the key typologies described in the book. For example, in following Tudball's instructions on making a jelly mould (ibid: pp.126-7) she explains the origins of her characteristic soft style and her way of wedging clay. The accounts are highly evocative and contain information about processes and narratives, but remain illustrative and anecdotal.

2.1.5.2 Pottery anthologies

Contemporary handmade tableware is more widely discussed as part of anthologies of pottery and ceramics. These are built around historical narratives (e.g. Cooper, 2010; Clark; 2004; De Waal, 2003; Wondrausch, 2001), typologies (e.g. Woodhead, 2005; Clark, 1996) or making methods (discussed in Section 2.1.5.11).

Technical publications written by potters typically include a section about the authors' work. This gives authority to the discussion and justifies a potter's engagement with the printed medium. Topics correspond to the specialist approaches perfected by authors: e.g. slipware for Mary Wondrausch (2001), throwing large for Nic Collins (2011), ash and salt glazes for Phil Rogers (2003, 2002), thrown tableware for Linda Bloomfield (2013). This ensures insights on specialist techniques but often results in partisan positions which fail to capture the rich variety of professional practices.

For example, Mary Wondrausch played a key role in the revival of slipware pottery in Britain. Her historical study of slipware (2001) follows a somewhat personal narrative which includes bold statements such as "earthenware is the most difficult of all ceramic disciplines" (ibid: p.9). Her description of techniques is based on the educated reconstruction of historical methods based on close observation of ancient shards and pots, in line with her studio pottery approach, rather than the uninterrupted transmission of skills and knowledge[4].

4 The book refers to Ewenny Pottery a few times for their historical pots, but no mention is

Another limitation of many anthologies is the identification of pottery with studio pottery. Emmanuel Cooper offers an overview of the long history of ceramics which culminates with a section on 'studio ceramics today' (2000: p.314). He discusses 'tablewares' as a phase in ceramic history, started in the 1950s and 60s, and linked to the work of Bernard Leach. He explains potters dedicated themselves to the making of "well-designed, hand-made domestic pottery produced in quantity and sold at reasonable prices", and some continue to operate in this way today (ibid: p.289).

This teleological view of ceramic history as leading to contemporary studio ceramicists is shared by Garth Clark in *The potter's art* (1995), which ends a historical account with a section on the 'studio potter', and dismisses other forms of contemporary pottery practices:

> *"For the foreseeable future the traditional pottery workshop that makes pots in large quantity and sells them inexpensively seems to be becoming less and less viable as we approach the twenty-first century." (ibid: p.212).*

Edmund De Waal acknowledges the idea of self-sufficiency in pottery is a potent one but it represents an exception in ceramic history (2003: p.7). His account of the birth of studio pottery engages with the key themes and contradictions of the movements, which still resonate today (ibid: p.15).

2.1.5.3 Historical studies, films and recollections

Andrew McGarva's *Country pottery* (2000) provides rare insights into methods and philosophies of making of traditional British country potters, which relate to the analysis of Ewenny Pottery and other case studies discussed in later chapters. A small selection of articles (e.g. Burrison, 1997; Industrial history of Cumbria, 1997) and catalogues (e.g. Cockell and Holmes, 2007; Brears, 1974) describe the qualities and styles of traditional earthenware pots.

Country pottery making methods can be observed in historical films, such as those about Soil Hill Pottery (Anderson and Fournier, 1965), Verwood Pottery (Holman, 2011) and Ewenny Pottery (Ladybird Cine Group, n.d. (1960s)), which informed the review of making methods in Chapters 7 and 8.

Publications by potters and collectors of ceramics provide insights into ways of working

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made to Alun and Caitlin Jenkins's contemporary work.

and philosophies of making followed by individuals and workshops. Bernard Leach's *A potter's book* (1978) and Michael Cardew's *Pioneer Pottery* (2002 (1969)) remain key texts. They provided numerous clarifications on the Anglo-oriental approaches to making which informed the analysis of all case studies, and particularly of the Leach Pottery. Also important are the thoughts on many aspects of pottery making offered by Alan Caiger-Smith (1995), particularly as they cover aspects of division of labour and working in larger workshops which are not commonly discussed in other texts.

For Tanya Harrod, in 1990, much literature offered either how-to-do-it instructions aimed at potential potters or descriptions of pottery marks and biographical details, just enough "to satisfy the consumer's needs" (1990: p.44). To study the development of studio pottery, she advocated the need for oral histories, and since then multiple projects focused on interviews with potters and other craftspeople. Notable examples include the National Electronic and Video Archive of the Crafts (NEVAC) in Bristol (Guyatt, 2000), the Craft Potters Association Archive at the National Library of Wales and the repository of interviews in the Sounds archive of the British Library. Despite the importance of these projects for historical documentation, the richness of pottery processes cannot be fully captured in recollections, often discussed many decades after the events. This is exemplified by the interviews conducted by Matt Tyas for his analysis of the historical Leach standard ware (2014: p.136). Former employees John Bedding and Walter McKenzie discussed the old ware and identified differences in craftsmanship. Bedding also recognised one of the pots as his own, but no further information could be gathered on other makers or the exact reasons for variation across the pots. This contrasts with the relationships between qualities, narratives and processes explored in this thesis [Chapter 8].

2.1.5.4 Ethnographies

Henry Glassie's *The potter's art* (1999) offers a vivid anthropological account of pottery making across various countries, which is both inspiring and well informed. For Glassie, the value of pottery resides in its capacity to embody cultural and personal values, and combine the material with the spiritual. Pottery making is seen as an extension of religion, even when it deals with cups and bowls. By engaging in observation and conversations with the potters, he shows that "common clay is made to carry value" (ibid: p.19), however he

does not examine how this is realised in the process.

Daniela Castellanos Montes's ethnography of Aguabuena potters in Colombia (2013) explores social dynamics in pottery communities through the concept of envy, but craft is the context rather than the focus of the study. A more influential ethnography for this study is Brian Moeran's doctoral research on the traditionalist potters of the village of Onta in Japan (1980) and later updates (2008). Moeran demonstrates complex, direct interrelations existed among methods of making, narratives about processes and makers, and the physical qualities of the pots. This study lacks Moeran's longitudinal view on the evolution of practices [notes are provided in Section 6.6.3], but was inspired to utilise case studies to generate findings through comparisons.

2.1.5.5 Critical texts

The originality and depth of Philip Rawson's *Ceramics* (1971) contrasts greatly with the level of discussion offered by much literature on pottery. Rawson sees the making of pots as a 'fundamental act of self-projection' (ibid: p.8) which goes beyond the external characteristics observed by art history and archaeology (i.e. in the early 1970s). He engages with physical characteristics and meanings of pottery whilst showing great familiarity with processes across many styles and time periods. Qualities, narratives and operations are discussed together and related to each other. Rawson's conception of 'ceramics' in 1971 is still close to 'pottery', as he focuses on 'the symbolic, tactile and associative values of ceramic objects' (Breen, 2014: p.1) rather than later art-oriented studio practice.

Daniel Rhodes's *Pottery form* (1978) provides personal but equally insightful connections between qualities and making methods:

> *"To actually learn to make pots well requires extended study, preferably with a teacher, and the information given here on how to do certain things is not intended to be a complete technical guide. A growing number of books offer information of this kind, but attention to the actual quality of pots as distinct from instructions on how to make pots has generally been lacking" (ibid: p.ix).*

The description of qualities is competent and at times poetic, albeit heavily biased towards studio practices with an Oriental influence (ibid: p.28). The discussion is somewhat limited by Rhodes's choice to illustrate the text almost exclusively with pictures of his own pots at the wet or leather hard stage (ibid: p.xi), which fails to reflect the variety of surfaces observed on fired pots made by an array of potters, as it is common in ceramic publications.

Marguerite Wildenhain (1962) offers other personal interpretations of qualities and methods which famously contrasted with those of Bernard Leach and his followers (De Waal, 2003: p.154). She discusses the 'human activities' involved in making pottery by hand (ibid: p.13) with great conviction and offers advice to students of pottery on how to "burst the limits of tradition and the restrictions of convention" to find their self-expression in clay (ibid: p.58). Her insights are educated and remain useful references even when not agreeable or demonstrably false. Interestingly for this study, she believed it was more advisable for a potter to collaborate with industry than:

> *"to try to repeat by hand an unlimited number of identical pieces; that can only result in killing any original talent, imagination – and, in the end, the whole man – in the process" (ibid: p.76).*

2.1.5.6 Academic studies

The academic debate on ceramics and pottery is shaped by specialist journals such as *Interpreting Ceramics* (edited by Kate Wilson et al., discontinued in 2016), *Craft Research* (edited by Kristina Niedderer and Katherine Townsend) and *The Journal of Modern Craft* (edited by Glenn Adamson et al.), but for the most part the discourse is built around ceramic art and studio practices.

Among doctoral studies, Matthew Tyas's practice-based research (2014), mentioned above, investigates the potential application of digital manufacturing technologies in the design and production of hand-made tableware at the Leach Pottery. Tyas's thesis provides a useful review of the history of the Leach, and an analysis of the historical standard ware and the range produced between 2008 and 2013 under Jack Doherty. Tyas's examination of the historical Leach standard ware informed Chapter 6, but his focus is on his digital practice.

Geoffrey Kay's PhD thesis (2007) explores the concept of craftsmanship in ceramics through phenomenological analysis of three individual studio potters and a review of literature on craftsmanship which draws from many disciplines. Kay proposes a critique of David Pye's definition of craftsmanship which extends it "across the whole range of making activities that potters engage in" (2007: p.280). Kay's focus on the vocation of individual studio makers contrasts with this study's interest in teamwork.

Hyo-Sun Kim's thesis on the Korean moon jar reassesses the role of risk in craftsmanship (2014), in particular reference to David Pye's theories. She identifies "concentrated

examples" of "risk-taking processes" in throwing and firing, as mentioned in Section 7.4.2.

Emmanuel Boos's research (2011) offers some technical and cultural insights on glazes, whereas Julian Stair's writings (2002), Jeffrey Charles Jones's research on the Studio Pottery Movement (1999) and Peter Dormer's study of Studio Crafts (1992) offer further historical background on studio pottery and themes discussed in this study, but remain marginal to the contemporary focus of this research.

Two Masters dissertations come close to the scope of this study. Kochevet Bendavid-Walker discusses the relevance of handmade tableware in contemporary society (2002). In a related article on *Ceramic Review* she captures the tension between the unique qualities of the "fluency and palpable energy" of throwing, and the repetition of production methods (2005: p.35). She concludes that handmade tablewares' "relevance lies in their capacity to express, symbolise and convey subjective and cultural feelings, values and ideas both through and beyond their utility" (p.53). Bendavid-Walker touches upon many narratives discussed in this study, but her research is primarily informed by interviews with individual makers of ceramic art (e.g. Alison Britton, Edmund De Waal, Takeshi Yasuda) and studio pottery (e.g. Walter Keeler), and follows the patterns of material culture studies, rather than engaging with making processes.

Finally, Emma Lacey published conclusions from her dissertations on tableware in the International Journal of Design (Lacey, 2009). She explores the 'meaningful experience' handmade ceramics can offer, in line with Jonathan Chapman's theories of emotional durability (Chapman, 2005). She discusses the active shaping of narratives as part of her design process, which points to possible applications for this study [Section 9.2].

2.1.5.7 Catalogues and promotional videos

Exhibitions and catalogues are not the natural space for debating functional tableware pottery made for everyday use, however, as in other texts, tableware is often discussed as part of wider narratives on ceramics.

The catalogue accompanying the recent touring exhibition *Things of Beauty Growing* (Adamson et al., 2017b) is a scholarly text which reassesses the work of British studio potters up to contemporary practices. A section by Edward S. Cooke Jr. discusses the "meaning of the wheel" in the studio movement (p.58), and particularly in relation to

Bernard Leach. Overall the catalogue provides an updated critical framework for the historical understanding of British studio pottery.

Other catalogues of historical exhibitions and portfolios of individual potters provide additional context (e.g. Spira, 2004; Watson, 1997). A number of small catalogues produced by the Goldmark Gallery in recent years describe the work of studio potters they represent, all well-established potters working in the country-orientalist tradition described in Section 2.2.2 - e.g. Nic Collins (Goldmark Gallery, 2017a) and Phil Rogers (Goldmark Gallery, 2017b). The gallery also produces popular monographic videos on potters which are freely available online (e.g. Goldmark Gallery, 2014a, 2014b, 2012d)[5]. The catalogues and videos rely on attractive photography and a clear narrative which follows the potters' lifestyles and general approaches to making, occasionally providing insights on methods which have informed the discussion in Chapter 8.

2.1.5.8 Marketing material

Marketing material - including the text presented on potters' websites - is centred around 'pre-purchase narratives' (Woolley and Niedderer, 2016: p.162) which, despite their limitations, offer insights into the potters' approaches to making, the qualities they value in their work and the meanings they want to communicate. This was illustrated by the material reviewed for Section 2.2. Short extracts about the case studies exemplify the potters' descriptions of their own work available online. For example, the Ewenny process is described on their website under a section titled 'Truly handmade', which includes this paragraph:

> *"A glaze is a liquid made from clays, stone and oxides. The making of glazes and its application although looks easy is a highly skilled job. Alun has continued to develop a range of glazes that are uniquely Ewenny, he dips it in one glaze and splashes on another. The glazed pots are put back into the kiln for a second firing this time to 1100 °C for another two days. The glazes melt together to form the famous mottled decoration" (Ewenny Pottery, 2017).*

The standard ware range is described in the Leach online catalogue using a similar combination of qualities, properties, narratives and making processes:

> *"Leach Standard Ware pottery is thrown on the wheel by our international team of production potters, volunteers and apprentices. We use stoneware clay from Doble's*

5 In March 2018, the video about Lisa Hammond (Goldmark Gallery, 2012d) counted over 300,000 views.

> *claypit in St Agnes, Cornwall – much the same clay as was used in the original Leach Standard Ware production. Our range of glazes are selected and developed for their quality and colour and are laboratory tested for food safety. The pots are fired to 1280 degrees Celsius, resulting in a dense and durable product. During the firing, the amount of oxygen in the kiln's atmosphere is reduced and the flame pulls oxygen from the clay and glazes instead, infusing the glazes with deep, rich, iron tones" (Leach Pottery, 2017).*

The description of processes highlights the 'international team' uses local materials which link back to Bernard Leach's times while ensuring modern standards of quality.

Lisa Hammond's and Maze Hill's websites do not offer detailed explanations, however she describes the qualities of her work (whilst also explaining methods and communicating narratives) in commercial videos (e.g. Goldmark, 2011, 2012b). Her descriptions informed the analysis of qualities in Chapter 6.

2.1.5.9 Specialist magazines and online resources

Specialist ceramic magazines in the English language can be important sources of information on general narratives about handmade tableware (e.g. Garson, 2003) or offer views on British practitioners analysed in the research (e.g. Uys, 2018). These include the American publications *Pottery Making Illustrated*, *Ceramics Monthly*, *Ceramic Arts Daily* and the Australian magazines *Ceramics: Art and Perception*, *Ceramic TECHNICAL*, and the *Journal of Australian Ceramics*.

British magazines such as *Crafts* and *Ceramic Review* offer a coherent and continuous engagement with the ever-evolving handmade ceramic field. *Ceramic Review* in particular plays a key role in defining the ever-evolving landscape of British studio pottery with contents aimed at an audience of potters and amateurs (who share an appreciation of methods and qualities) without excessive technical detail. Articles engage with all aspects of pottery making, and their importance for this research is evident in the references to the magazine made throughout the thesis. It should be noted that all participants in this study are regular readers of *Ceramic Review*, and they featured in it either as individual makers (e.g. Caddy, 2016) or as a workshop (e.g. Olding, 2008). Lisa Hammond and Caitlin Jenkins also contributed with articles (Hammond and Thom, 2002; Jenkins, 1999).

2.1.5.10 Blogs and social media

Blogs can provide useful information about pottery practices and instructional material

for aspiring potters: direct accounts of daily tasks, difficulties in developing skills and social dynamics behind the scenes. These are useful insights which rarely emerge from more formally constructed narratives in printed publications and marketing material. They constitute a fresh (if partial and largely edited) source of information which sits somewhere between conventional literature and the ethnographic material produced in the study. The most informative blogs include those by Hannah McAndrew (2016), David Worsley (2016), Paul Jessop (2018) and that of Adopt a Potter (2017).

Similarly, social media offer a direct update on progress in studios and workshops. Information from social media is not taken uncritically, as the medium is mostly used for self-promotion and tends to beautify processes for effect. However, throughout the research, posts on the social media platform Instagram complemented the more formal review of literature with potters' personal and direct insights into processes, lifestyles, social dynamics and events. The platform is used by practitioners across generations and working in various styles but is particularly key to the younger makers discussed in Section 2.2.6. Florian Gadsby[6] holds a popular account on Instagram and his detailed descriptions and personal views complemented the interviews and ethnographic observations conducted with him at Maze Hill Pottery.

2.1.5.11 Literature on making operations

This section provides a more detailed review of literature on contemporary hand-thrown tableware processes. The review is illustrated by the examination of texts on salient operations which will be analysed in Chapter 8: centring, ribbing and handling.

2.1.5.11.1 Centring

Most pottery manuals cover the procedure required for centring clay on the potter's wheel as part of explanations of throwing (e.g. Carter, 2016: p.30; Cohen, 2008: p.32), advising beginners and more advanced potters of its importance and that much practice is required to master it (e.g. Rhodes, 1978: p.11). Techniques may vary depending on the amount of clay considered, but most explanations found in literature match the requirements for the production of mugs and other small tableware [analysed in Chapter 8], so that direct comparisons are possible.

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6 Florian Gadsby is a participant in the study.

Figure 2.1 Ben Carter suggests the use of a fist to press down the high cone (photo: Carter, 2016: p.32).

Figure 2.2 A very high cone is recommended by Zamek for centring clay and avoiding S crack issues (photo: Zamek, 2009: p.141).

Figure 2.3 Atkin suggests flattening clay with the side of the hand (photo: Atkin, 2009: p.88).

Figure 2.4 Robin Hopper demonstrating centring by pressing down with the side of the right hand (video still: Hopper, 2004).

Figure 2.5 Isaac Button pressing down and making a dimple in one movement (video still: Anderson and Fournier, 1965).

Figure 2.6 A Verwood potter centring clay (video still: Holman, 2011: 31:20 minutes).

Although outside the scope of this study, it should be noted that centring provided pottery authors with a powerful metaphor for the human condition, most notably in potter and poet Mary Caroline Richards's *Centering in Pottery, Poetry, and the Person* (1989 (1964): p.3). Alan Caiger-Smith also shared his belief that "centering the clay, the maker also begins to become centered", as "in every vessel thrown on the wheel, movement and stillness coexist, as one" (1995: p.201).

In pottery manuals centring is often equated with the technique of coning clay (e.g. Carter, 2016; Zamek, 2009; Peterson and Peterson, 2012 (1992)), despite coning being only one of the available options. Linda Bloomfield explains:

> *"Centring involves squeezing the clay into a cone shape, then flattening it back down again and repeating these two movements until the clay is perfectly centred on the wheel" (2011: p.59).*

Ben Carter's recent publication on throwing also explains centring only in terms of coning (2016: p.30; Figure 2.1), whilst others privilege coning as a method to prevent S cracks issues (Zamek, 2009: p. 140; Figure 2.2). This limited offer is also observed in other key 20th century texts, including Rhodes (1978: p.11), Clark (1970: p.14) and Fieldhouse (1959 (1952): p.41).

Others propose different techniques, such as flattening the lump of clay with the side of the hand (Atkin, 2009: p.88; Figure 2.3), a method demonstrated in a DVD tutorial by Robin Hopper (2004; Figure 2.4). More complete accounts are provided by Clark (1983: p.48) and, more recently, by Cohen (2008: p.32) and Hooson and Quinn (2012: p.87). The latter describe both methods: coning and pressing with the side of the hand. They explain:

> *"There are many methods for achieving this, and the one you choose will depend on your wheel, body shape and strength. Observing other throwers will help you to see different approaches" (ibid: p.88).*

A third method is described by authors on country pottery (e.g. McGarva, 2000: p.69) and observed in videos of country potters at work (Figure 2.5). This consists of lifting the clay by pressing it sideways, and then centre it by pressing it down again. Smaller quantities of clay - e.g. to make a mug - can be simply pressed down with two hands in one quick movement (e.g. Holman, 2011; Figure 2.6). This seemingly simple technique in fact requires the experience of country and production potters. In a 1987 video (Erdman, 2012) David Leach, who trained in factories in Stoke on Trent in 1930s, is seen centring clay by

Figure 2.7 A bamboo rib (left) and a wooden D-shaped rib (middle) used at the Leach Pottery (photo: 20 Apr 2016).

Figure 2.8 Cohen indicates the point of pressure of the rib onto the pot (photo: Cohen, 2008: p.55).

Figure 2.9 Mills illustrates the use of ribs for surface decoration (photo: Mills, 2008: p.23).

Figure 2.10 Potter Matt Schiemann collaring a bottle using a rib (photo: Jones, 2015: p.2).

Figure 2.11 Carter demonstrates the use of a rib on the inside of a pot (photo: Carter, 2016: p.38).

Figure 2.12 Ribbing at Crossroads Pottery (video still: Holman, 2011: 25:34 minutes).

simply pressing the small lumps in one hand. This direct method is also described by Alex McErlain (2002: p.86).

Other methods are described and used by potters - e.g. for centring larger amounts of clay - and often individual makers would use a combination of techniques or develop a personal style by combining elements of different origins. Overall, this review shows the operation of centring tends to be described in simplistic terms in pottery manuals and a richer understanding of methods requires a comparison of sources. Cultural associations between techniques and their geo-historical origins remain largely unexplored in literature, but the anecdotal evidence collected for this study suggests a correlation between coning and studio pottery methods, and between 'pressing down' and country pottery methods. This informs the findings from the analysis of centring presented in Section 8.2.3.3.

2.1.5.11.2 Ribbing

As per centring, although no publication is entirely dedicated to the use of ribs, techniques are commonly discussed as part of the actions required for throwing. A rib is a flat tool typically made of wood, metal, plastic or ceramic, which is held in the thrower's hand to smooth the surface of the pot in the later stages of throwing (Hamer and Hamer, 2015: p.308; Hooson and Quinn, 2012: p.311; Figure 2.7). The word 'ribbing' may refer to various actions but in this study it indicates the use of a rib tool on the surface of a pot. Generally speaking, ribbing can be used to "control, refine, or finish the surface" (Rhodes, 1978: p.41). The action "compresses the clay, helps it stand up, and removes excess water from the surface" (Troy, 1977: p.98).

Pottery manuals throughout the 20th century provided some instructions on ribbing (Billington, 1972: p.44; Leach, 1978: p.72; Wondrausch, 2001 (1986): p.20). Michael Cardew explained:

> *"Slurry is now removed from the walls by running the flat edge of the bamboo blade over it, so that the pot will not be too slippery for lifting" (2002 (1969): p.116).*

Even when alternative methods are available, techniques are described in an assertive language which reflects the preferences of the authors. This approach can be considered appropriate for technical manuals intended for beginners. Contemporary technical handbooks (e.g. Hooson and Quinn, 2012: p.95; McErlain, 2002: p.8) continue to provide

instructions for students by, understandably, only describing the use of ribs in generic terms. Publications which focus on throwing techniques provide a more fine-grained resolution but continue to offer 'problem-solving' instructions on how to perform ribbing. For David Cohen (Figure 2.8):

> *"The shaping rib is used to skim over the outside of the cylinder, taking away surface water and slip left over from the third lift" (2008: p.45).*

Ribbing is also discussed in a similarly straightforward manner in the context of surface decoration (Mills, 2008: p.22, Figure 2.9; Rogers, 2002: p.182 on Blair Meerfeld; Woodhead, 2005: p.140; Jones, 2015: p.2, Figure 2.10).

In his study of craftsmanship in ceramics, Geoffrey Kay discusses the importance of tools in mediating between the hand and the finished pot (2007: p.196) but his description of ribbing remains generic and unproblematised:

> *"If I were making cylindrical shapes, I would press from the inside against a straight edge, maybe a specially shaped Perspex rib, or a piece of wooden ruler" (ibid: p.197).*

Other technical authors present subtler alternatives to their readers and link techniques to distinct effects on the ware. Ben Carter explains (Figure 2.11):

> *"Working with a rib: When shaping, it can be helpful to hold a rib on the outside or inside of the pot. This replaces the pressure you apply with your fingers, which enables a smooth, compressed surface. Try using a wooden, rubber, or metal rib to experiment with how crisp you want the surface to be. The denser the rib, the more compressed the surface will be (2016: p.36)".*

Non-technical texts discuss the appreciation of qualities and narratives in the ware. Philip Rawson describes some pots as having a:

> *"very smooth surface on which no granulation can be felt, and no unevenness. Such a surface is tactually 'cold', and 'repellent'. It offers no stimulation to the touch, and seems dead. Plastics offer this sort of experience to the hand" (1971: p.85).*

Rawson discusses these 'tactile values' (i.e. surface qualities) in some detail but he makes no mention of ribbing or other techniques by which these qualities can be produced. He also associates negative attributes to a 'cold' surface and does not suggest such a surface could be appreciated in its own right.

In country pottery, ribbing continues to be employed as a necessary step in smoothing the outside of flower pots. Potter Jim Keeling from Whichford Pottery explains:

> *"We always use ribbers or ribs, as they're called, on the outside of the pot. They*

> *originally would have been made from ox ribs, now they're just bits of metal. It gives you a smoothness to the pot and pretty well all traditional potters everywhere use them. For flowerpots is more practical to have a clean surface; it doesn't hold the bugs" (Keeling, 2012: 6:50 minutes).*

McGarva confirms this explanation in his book on country pottery (Figure 2.12) and includes potter Reg Harris's description of pots with clearly visible hand marks as 'louse ladders' (2000: p.60), an evidently pejorative term.

Some texts include more extensive interviews with potters and ethnographic material which link operations, qualities and narratives. In his book on firing (2007), David Jones quotes potter Ian Jones's reflections on his different styles of ribbing:

> *"If I am making pots that are meant to carry the heavy ash and charcoal effects of the main firebox, or making jugs and teapots to go in the shelves, I have to, in a sense, be a different potter, to think differently about the clay. When I make copper-green glazed (inspired by oribe glaze) pots, I am another potter in the sense that I am interested in different qualities of surface, a different way of working with the clay, and I throw using a rib much more than I usually do. I assume that I'm not alone in this changing of mental hats, but I am quite conscious of trying to think differently" (ibid: p.84).*

This account resonates with the ethnographic approach used in this study. It highlights the importance of alternative techniques in creating "different qualities of surface" and that it would require the potter to "think differently about the clay". David Jones captured this comment but his publication is about firing and does not include further analysis of the potter's actions. The discussion of ribbing in Section 8.2.3.5 explores qualities and narratives associated with the ribbing techniques observed across the participants.

2.1.5.11.3 Handling

Handles are an important feature of drinking vessels and many tableware typologies which, arguably, remain under-examined in pottery literature. No publication is entirely dedicated to handling, i.e. the operation of creating and attaching a handle onto a vessel[7]. Many pottery manuals only mention it briefly (e.g. Bloomfield, 2011: p.46; Wensley, 2002: p.112; Peterson and Peterson, 2012: p.67), as did older publications (e.g. Clark, 1983; Clark 1970; Fieldhouse, 1959). Notably, Kenneth Clark offered only very basic instructions on handling over less than two pages in his 200-page book *The potter's manual* (1983). In her similarly

7 In this study, 'to handle' and 'handling' indicate the making of handles, rather than the more common meaning of picking up, carrying or feeling a pot with one's hands.

Figure 2.13 Illustrations of pulled handles on jugs in Dora Billington's book (photo: Billington, 1972: p.57).

Figure 2.14 Illustration of a finger/mug fit [cropped], (photo: Hopper, 2000: p.104).

Figure 2.15 Illustration of handle profiles and sections on small holloware (photo: French, 1998: p.49).

Figure 2.16 Ben Carter illustrating the pulling of a handle from a lump of clay (photo: Carter, 2016: p.84).

Figure 2.17 Detailed illustrations of handling positions, described in the captions (photo: Cohen, 2008: p.77).

Figure 2.18 Handles going over the sliptrailing, on a country pottery crock (photo: McGarva, 2000: p.194).

sized book on pottery, Dora Billington discussed handles over eight pages and provided some assertive opinions on the operations. She believed pulling handles directly from the pot is a "better way, because more direct" and qualities derived from it are tangible: "any potter can tell whether a handle has been pulled on the pot" (1972: p.55, Figure 2.13).

Pottery anthologies discuss handles as part of formal descriptions of pots (e.g. Bloomfield, 2013; Walter, 2002; Rogers, 2002; Lane, 1990; Cushion, 1976) but only briefly, and rarely in isolation (e.g. Wood, 1999: p.21). Alex McErlain describes handling techniques in relation to specific typologies, but he privileges the discussion of form over that of function (2002: p.155).

The importance of handles for the appearance of pots is analysed more methodically by authors who offer formal readings of pottery. In 1976, John Cushion published an 'identification guide' for pots which included detailed illustrations of handles used in different typologies, including cups, over many pages (pp.146-160). However, the shapes were produced with moulds and differed from the pulled handles examined in this study.

Neal French also provides many illustrations and direct comparison of profiles, including those of mugs (1998: p.40-41), but handles are only illustrated for jugs and cups (ibid: p. 31 and 49). His tables of illustrations are a useful reference for potters, and also include many slipcast forms (Figure 2.15). The classification appears systematic but handles for mugs are shown alongside those for jugs. French also distinguishes among handles by shape (e.g. 'simple loop'), character (e.g. 'organic') or method (e.g. 'extruded strap') at the same time (ibid: p.30).

Peter Lane's silhouettes of pottery forms are instructional (1970: p.200) but do not highlight the role handles play in creating the overall character of the pots, or single out their profile as French does. His section on 'forms in profile' focuses on the main body of pots and does not include handles, other than a few examples on archaic typologies (ibid: p.211).

Manuals aimed at pottery students discuss handling more broadly. Hooson and Quinn include a section on handles which describes pulling and more decorative methods (2012: p.110). In his book on throwing, Ben Carter includes a clear explanation of handle pulling (Figure 2.16) and offers his personal take on the technique (2016: pp.82-91). The focus

is on instructing beginners and providing exercises to develop skills and test solutions according to personal preference, as it is common for individual studio potters. The studio pottery approach is perhaps best exemplified by Emmanuel Cooper's *Potters' tips* (2006b), in which handling is also briefly discussed. Cooper collected solutions to specific problems, often unconventional, which show the ingenuity of makers working in the isolation of their studios, but eager to share solutions with like-minded individuals.

As highly functional elements in tableware pottery, handles are widely discussed by Hopper in his *Functional pottery* (2000). He reminds us of the importance of a good handle:

> *"Other details don't have such an intimacy about them except, perhaps, for knobs on lids and lips on vessels we drink from. It is hard to feel any joy in using something that is continually uncomfortable, and holding hands with either a flaccid or bony, pinched handle can quickly quench the desire for further contact" (ibid: p.148).*

Hopper explains the role of handles as levers (ibid: p.72) and offers simple mechanical considerations in relation to the centre of gravity of pots (ibid: p.77). He discusses handles in relation to form, aesthetics and function in some detail, including the handle's fit in relation to the anatomy of the hand (ibid: p.104; Figure 2.14). The book focuses on the design of handles more than their execution. From his studio pottery stance, Hopper describes alternative methods of handling as a personal choice of the potter, "coming from a combination of aesthetics and experience" (ibid: p.148):

> *"From my experience, there seems to be no particular benefit to any one method, except perhaps that the handle pulled directly from the pot may be a little more integrated with the form than those pulled separately and then attached" (ibid: p.149).*

Cardew dedicated a section of his *Pioneer Pottery* to the discussion of handles (2002 (1969): p.128). His detailed instructions and practical tips on how to pull handles remain relevant today, but are offered alongside aesthetic judgments imposed in his characteristically assertive manner, based on the assumption that "organic functionalism is best" (ibid: p.129).

The continuity of materials and processes allows Rawson's scholarly knowledge of ceramics to associate pulled handles with hand-modelling of clay figurines in Tang China (1971: p.29). He recognises the value of hand modelling "as part of an artistic cult of 'naturalness' and 'simplicity' which rejects the pretentiousness and vulgarity of current routine technological products" (ibid: p.31) and discusses the 'significances' of suggestive plastic forms, including handles (ibid: p.121).

Rhodes has a chapter on handles in his *Pottery Form* (1978), in which he comments on the functional and aesthetic aspects of adding handles to a ceramic form. He first describes alternatives ways to make handles and some considerations on the merits of each. He then vividly describes the qualities of good pulled handles:

> *"The clay seems to want to loop over in just the right form. The pulled handle, when well done, has a fluid, dynamic quality. It can be soft and claylike without being mushy or irregular" (ibid: p.91).*

Cohen's methodical instructions provide alternative techniques for pulling, extruding and making slab handles (2008: p.77). The explanations are brief and factual, mostly relying on illustrations (Figure 2.17). Varied accounts of handling techniques are indirectly given by Bill Jones (2015), who collected explanations of personal techniques from various potters. However, these are simply juxtaposed and not discussed in relation to each other.

The symbolism of pulled handles is mentioned by Janice Tchalenko in her recollections (Tchalenko and Tchalenko, 1992: p.20). She describes how her new decorative style introduced at the end of the 1970s was accompanied by her dismissal of thick rims and pulled handles. Her choices were deliberate and controversial, reflecting a point in her career in which the "whole ideology changed" (ibid).

Perhaps the text which gets closer to the scope and approach of this study is McGarva's *Country Pottery* (2000). He notes how handles made by country potters in the past were sometimes round in section (ibid: p.25) or had been added over slip trailing (ibid: p.29; Figure 2.18), reflecting a typically economical procedure. McGarva also pauses to reflect on the handles made across country workshops (ibid: p.74), and explains basic techniques, also in relation to the speed of the process.

Despite the anecdotal and superficial treatment of handling techniques in most pottery literature, collectively the texts describe many qualities and methods effectively, but the cultural narratives associated with each method remain under-examined. The analysis of the handling methods observed and tested in this study provides original findings in this direction, as discussed in Section 8.2.4.

2.2 Practice review

2.2.1 Contemporary tableware potters

This section reviews just under 80 contemporary British pottery practices producing hand-thrown tableware for daily use. A comparison of current approaches is outlined based on key aspects such as materials, aesthetics, key manufacturing qualities and indicative processes. A complete list of the practices reviewed is included in Appendix A.

British handmade tableware is mostly produced on the potter's wheel, and commercial practices based on hand-building techniques (e.g. Brickett Davda's hand-pressed range for Toast) are comparatively rare. In the UK, production of hand-thrown tableware is mostly conducted by studio potters, working individually or assisted by one or two potters. Only a few medium-to-large size commercial workshops operate in the country. Notable examples include Whichford Pottery in Warwickshire, counting over 30 staff, and the Leach Pottery in St. Ives, which employs seven potters. However many potters also operate in single studios within larger buildings (e.g. the Chocolate Factory and Cockpit Arts in London), or have individual workspaces but share kilns (e.g. Kigbeare Studios in Devon and Gaolyard Studios in Cornwall). Many others, especially in urban areas, work in open-access workshops and 'makers spaces' such as Turning Earth and the Kiln Rooms in London, Clay Studio in Manchester, Baltic Clay in Liverpool or Maze Studios in Bristol (Maughan, 2018). In these spaces, individual makers can develop their skills independently but observation, assistance and proctoring are common.

This review compiles information from printed publications, potters' websites, online interviews and articles, complemented by knowledge acquired during fieldwork and visits to ceramic fairs. A varied and complex landscape emerges, with potters using a range of clay bodies and firing methods, working in a variety of styles and being inspired by distinct traditions. Most potters describe their clays, basic methods of making, decorating and firing explicitly, however in the absence of an equivalent analysis of processes, direct comparisons with the case studies cannot be made.

The review is necessarily non-exhaustive but outlines principal approaches to making hand-thrown tableware in the UK today. It locates the case studies in relation to other practices

operating in the country and provides a reference for the findings presented in later chapters. The information collected on each practice included, whenever available:

- potters' education and training;
- location and size of practice;
- range of typologies produced;
- methods of production;
- pottery style;
- publications authored by the potters; and
- digital platforms used to promote their work.

For ease of discussion, five main approaches are identified and used in the thesis to navigate in the complex landscape of individual makers, different styles, typologies and traditions. Practices may not fall entirely within a single well-defined category but the grouping is used as a first point of reference in the discussion of qualities and narratives associated with the ware.

2.2.2 Country orientalists

The expression 'country orientalists' in this study sums up a generation of potters who trained in the 1960s and 70s under influential figures such as Bernard Leach, Shoji Hamada, Michael Cardew, Ray Finch, or were heavily influenced by their writings, their work or that of other potters in their circles. It also refers to younger potters who trained under them and have assimilated their methods, approaches and aesthetics.

Their stoneware pottery is closely related to British earthenware country pottery traditions but also shaped by an appreciation of making techniques, typologies and aesthetics originated in China, Japan and Korea. Their pots can show great gestural qualities and a rustic refinement which benefits from a connoisseur's appreciation of their subtle references to past and foreign traditions. Their focus tends to be on form and surface texture, rather than brushwork or applied decoration. Firing techniques are key to their success and many use wood or soda, giving the pots a characteristic rustic and 'natural' look.

The range of tableware made by Svend Bayer for David Mellor (Figure 2.19) follows this

Figure 2.19 The range of tableware made by Svend Bayer for David Mellor (photo: www.davidmellordesign.com, accessed 18/2/17).

Figure 2.20 The 'standard ware' pots made at the Leach Pottery (photo: www.leachpottery.com, accessed 18/2/17).

Figure 2.21 Tableware made at Lisa Hammond's Maze Hill Pottery (photo: www.mazehillpottery.co.uk, accessed 4/4/18).

Figure 2.22 Slipware pots by Bethan Jones (photo: www.instagram.com/bethanjonesceramics/, accessed 10/9/18).

Figure 2.23 Dish and jug by Paul Jessop (photo: barringtonpottery.com, accessed 18/2/17).

Figure 2.24 Splash glaze earthenware pots made at Ewenny (photo: ewennypottery.com, accessed 4/4/18).

approach. Well-known potters represented by the Goldmark Gallery (such as Jim Malone, Phil Rogers, Clive Bowen) share a similar sensibility. Although they now concentrate on more individual pieces, they continue to be influential on potters making tableware and are often discussed on magazines such as *Ceramic Review*. Potters such as Micky Schloessingk and Lisa Hammond[8] make soda-fired stoneware tableware which can be grouped under this category. Roelof Uys[9] at the Leach Pottery also shares a similar style and sensibility (Figure 2.20), however his porcelain range is closer to the style of the 'production modernists' described below.

2.2.3 Earthenware potters

British potters working in earthenware today can draw from the long history of the medium in the country. This spans from sgraffito[10] and trailed[11] slipware to less decorated country pottery traditions, especially in England and Wales. Katherine Winfrey and Josie Walter are directly influenced by French earthenware styles, whilst Penny Simpson trained in Japan and produces a range of orientalist tableware in stoneware alongside her decorated earthenware range. Bethan Jones (Figure 2.22) also works in both mediums.

Standard studio setups and electric firings are common, but some traditional elements are still observed. Nigel Lambert and Sean and Vici Casserley fire in wood, whilst Jennifer Hall and Josie Walter make their pots on a kick-wheel. Earthenware products are varied and often include a conservative range of distinctly British and continental typologies: e.g. tankards, casseroles, butter dishes, cheese plates, mugs, jugs, cups and saucers.

Earthenware clay has characteristics and traditions quite distinct from those of stoneware and porcelain, and the references to British country pottery remain evident in some practices. The Jenkins at Ewenny Pottery (Figure 2.24)[12] continue a long-standing family tradition rooted in their locality, whilst Paul Jessop at Barrington Pottery (Figure 2.23)

8 Lisa Hammond runs Maize Hill Pottery and is a participant in the study.

9 Roelof Uys is a Senior Potter and a participant in the study.

10 Sgraffito is a decorating technique by which a layer of liquid clay (i.e. slip) is laid on a fresh pot and then scratched to reveal the contrasting colour underneath.

11 Trailing is a decorating technique based on the application of lines of liquid clay of contrasting colour.

12 The Jenkins at Ewenny Pottery are participants in the study.

Figure 2.25 Medium mugs, decorated stoneware by Michael Taylor (photo: michaeltaylorceramics.com, accessed 4/4/18).

Figure 2.26 A lemonade jug and beakers by Mary Chappelhow (photo: www.interludeceramics.com, accessed 18/2/17).

Figure 2.27 Stoneware cups and saucers by Arwyn Jones (photo: www.arwynjonesceramics.co.uk, accessed 18/2/17)

Figure 2.28 Cups and saucers by Suleyman Saba (photo: www.caa.org.uk, accessed 18/2/17).

Figure 2.29 Supper set by Louisa Taylor (photo: www.louisataylorceramics.com, accessed 18/2/17).

Figure 2.30 Jugs and pourers by James and Tilla Waters (photo: www.jamesandtillawaters.co.uk, accessed 18/2/17).

is self-taught and started making pots professionally in his forties. They are examples of the variety of personal histories and cultural narratives that may lie behind practices with similar aesthetics.

2.2.4 Stoneware studio potters

Many potters with over 20 years' experience working in stoneware today continue to adopt a functional and straightforward approach. Their pots are typically fired in electric or gas kilns, and made in small or individual studios using repeat throwing methods. They favour simple utilitarian shapes over bold personal expression. Their glazes are often monochrome shades of natural or neutral colours - e.g. in pottery by Andy Priestman, Tony Gant, Michael Taylor (Figure 2.25), Arwyn Jones (Figure 2.27) or Mary Chappelhow (Figure 2.26) - and applied by dipping or pouring. Others use bolder colours or distinctive decoration, e.g. Jennie Gilbert or Roger Cockram. They exemplify a branch of the studio pottery movement which merges lessons from Leach and Cardew with a more recent interpretation of modernism.

2.2.5 Production modernists

A number of potters trained in the 1980s and 90s look at a different branch of modernism for inspiration, and especially the essential lines of Bauhaus, Scandinavian and Japanese industrial design. Their take on throwing moves away from direct country traditions and looks at minimalism in art and spiritual philosophies. Some eventually emerged as fine artists working in ceramic installations (e.g. Edmund De Waal) or focused on more individual pieces (e.g. Rupert Spira). Their former apprentices make functional tableware influenced by these artistic approaches, e.g. Chris Keenan, and James and Tilla Waters (Figure 2.30). Sue Paraskeva practices throwing as performance but also makes a range of functional tableware. Gill Thompson collaborates with chefs, while Adrienne Baba is herself a chef. Their pots are deceivingly simple, often decorated with toned down monochrome glazes, e.g. in the work of Louisa Taylor (Figure 2.29). They mainly use hard paste, refined stoneware or porcelain clays. Shapes are minimalistic but retain a human character in the softness of their lines, e.g. in the subtle bevel of walls or the profile of a rim. Potters such as Claudia Lis, Mizuyo Yamashita, Lars P. Soendergaard Gregersen and Suleyman Saba (Figure 2.28) differ greatly in their practices but all share this modernist

Figure 2.31 Beaker and carafe by Jono Smart (photo: www.instagram.com, accessed 4/4/18).

Figure 2.32 Bowl by Kerry Hastings (photo: www.kerryhastings.com, accessed 4/4/18).

Figure 2.33 Large mug, short cup and espresso cup of the Everyday range by Emma Lacey (photo: www.emmalacey.com, accessed 18/2/17).

Figure 2.34 Beakers by Florian Gadsby (photo: www.floriangadsby.com, accessed 4/4/18).

sensibility.

2.2.6 Urban minimalists

A younger generation of potters is emerging as a dominant movement in the contemporary landscape. They are digitally savvy and are exploiting the marketing potential of social media, as well as attracting interest from *Ceramic Review* and recent publications (e.g. Bell and Jones, 2017; Treggiden, 2017).

They work with a range of refined stoneware and porcelain bodies, and favour essential forms influenced by contemporary product design and pure geometric shapes. Their 'digital age' aesthetics originates in industrial products made in metal, plastic and other materials. Flat rims and clean lines characterise the work of Hannah Bould, Jono Smart (Figure 2.31) and Kerry Hastings (Figure 2.32). Their pared down glazes range from simple celadons to shades of whites and greys, or unglazed pots which play with the coarseness of the body.

The contemporary divide between the minimalist products of designers in the cities and the country pots of the rural potteries echoes the contrast between the rustic pots patronised by Leach and the metropolitan style of Lucie Rie and Hans Coper, over 50 years ago, described by De Waal (2003: p.151). The distance of this new urban minimalist approach from that of the older generations of potters is noticeable in Phil Rogers's words:

> *"They show no sign of adventure, no sign of clay as a once plastic soft material, you know, they robbed all that away from it and we have this kind of banal, dead and banal sort of porcelain which to me would be better made in a factory" (Goldmark Gallery, 2014c: 18:02 minutes).*

Others like Emma Lacey (Figure 2.33), Stuart Carey, Linda Bloomfield, Florian Gadsby (Figure 2.34) and Matthew Warner have a design-driven practice but are more respectful of the subtle qualities of clay, and conscious of historical approaches. Their tableware builds on the legacy of the previous generation of 'production modernists' and marries a similar sensibility with the up-to-date aesthetic of the digital age.

2.3 Conclusions

The review discussed in this chapter showed British contemporary tableware pottery practices lack a comprehensive and critical literature. The physical qualities of pottery, the processes required for their production and the narratives associated with them are explored

	QUALITIES	NARRATIVES	PROCESSES
Tableware and pottery anthologies	c	b	c
Historical studies, films, recollections	-	c	b
Ethnographies	-	c	b
Critical and academic texts	c	c	b
Catalogues and promotional material	c	b	b
Specialist magazines and websites	b	b	b
Blogs and social media	b	b	b

Table 2.1 Indicative coverage of qualities, narratives and making processes in literature on pottery (c = covered; b = basic coverage; - = very limited coverage)

A. Lack of critical framework

B. Basic descriptions and focus on single products

C. Personal stances

D. Focus on consumption, cultural identity or behaviour

E. Scarce historical analysis

F. Theoretical analysis of key phases

G. Problem-solving

H. Emphasis on aesthetics — *'studio bias'*

I. Designer / maker

Figure 2.35 Summary of gaps and biases identified in current literature

in a wide range of texts and visual material but often superficially, only occasionally in the same sources (Table 2.1) and rarely in relation to each other. The review of material on centring, ribbing and handling operations has illustrated some of the limitations encountered in the discussion of pottery processes.

The list in Figure 2.35 summarises key omissions and biases identified in current literature:

A. **Lack of critical framework.** Texts on pottery tend to aim at aspiring makers, customers and amateurs (Harrod, 1990). Recent critical and academic studies of ceramics focus away from functional pottery made for everyday use (e.g. Brown et al., 2016; Dahn, 2015). Social scientific studies of pottery communities can map contemporary practices in great detail through ethnography and other methods, but avoid detailed explanations of processes and their impact on qualities in the final products (Gowlland, 2015; Marchand, 2016; O'Connor, 2005; Moeran, 1980). Contemporary tableware pottery lacks a framework which can compare with concepts and terms developed in archaeology (e.g. Lechtman, 1977; Gosselain, 2000, 1992).

B. **Basic descriptions and focus on single products.** Pottery anthologies provide indications of qualities through basic descriptions and photos. They discuss the qualities of single objects and overlook the importance of consistency in professional tableware production (e.g. Bloomfield, 2013; Hopper, 2000; Jones, 2007; Rogers, 2003, 2002).

C. **Personal stances.** Descriptions of qualities and methods reflect the authors' specialism and past experience. This is often offered in an assertive language which implies moral and aesthetic judgment, and fails to represent alternative approaches (e.g. Collins, 2011; Wondrausch, 2001).

D. **Focus on consumption, cultural identity or behaviour.** Studies of narratives include aspects of production but shy away from detailed analysis of making processes (e.g. Glassie, 1999). Ethno-archaeological studies offer a valid approach but do not examine making in post-industrial societies (e.g. Cort and Lefferts; 2010; Gosselain, 2000).

E. **Scarce historical analysis.** Oral history, biographies and recollections provide useful background (e.g. Harrod, 2010; Caiger-Smith, 1995) and historical films (e.g. Anderson and Fournier, 1965) show some making methods but overall the study of contemporary pottery practice lacks an analysis of historical lineages which conclusively traces the origins

of techniques.

F. **Theoretical analysis of key phases.** Specialist manuals which offer more detailed explanations of important phases such as throwing (e.g. Carter, 2016; Cohen, 2008), glazes (e.g Bloomfield, 2014; Rogers, 2003) and firing (e.g. Jones, 2007) discuss them theoretically and in isolation from other phases. Minor operations (e.g. cleaning, drying, adding small design details) fall between the discussion of 'key' phases.

G. **Problem-solving.** Across sources, the cultural origins of techniques is overlooked and methods are discussed for the most part as equivalent alternatives subject to the choice of the makers (e.g. Hopper, 2000). Explanations lack the discussions about isochrestic variants (Sackett, 1982) and stylistic behaviour (Lechtman, 1977) found in archaeology.

H. **Emphasis on aesthetics.** Catalogues and promotional material focus on craftsmanship and aesthetic styles (e.g. Adamson et al., 2017b; Goldmark, 2012d). Making is described in terms of form and decoration in the creation of products and largely ignores other workshop dynamics (e.g. teaching skills, commercial efficiency, preservation of traditions) which may be central to the appreciation of production processes and products.

I. **Designer / maker**. Technical texts discuss design and manufacturing aspects at the same time, assuming the maker is also responsible for developing form and decoration (e.g. McErlain, 2002; Hopper, 2000). This leads to two important limitations:

- I.1 Studies do not discuss the effect of division of labour on processes and qualities;
- I.2 Studies do not discuss the impact makers may have on qualities and narratives of pottery designed by others.

The problem-solving approach to making, the emphasis on aesthetic considerations (often tinted by an appreciation for oriental ceramics) and the perspective of a maker who is also the designer of the ware, collectively reflect what can be labelled as 'studio' or 'studio pottery' bias. This is testimony of the widespread importance of studio approaches in writings on - and making of - handmade tableware in the UK. However, it tends to exclude other approaches, e.g. those which still relate to country potteries or to production methods closer to industry (Jones, 2000).

Overall, a rich account of contemporary British pottery emerges from the review of

different sources and practices discussed in this chapter, but no single publication captures the interrelation of qualities, narratives and processes in such a way to reflect the complexity of professional practice and the variety identified in the practice review. This has outlined approaches based on information readily available, which underlines diversity and commonalities among workshops. It has also located the three case studies in their respective contexts.

The research strategy discussed in the next chapter was developed to address the limitations encountered in current sources. Chapter 9 will discuss the findings of the study in relation to the points raised here.

3. Research methods

> *"If you want to understand what a science is, you should look in the first instance not at its theories or its findings, and certainly not at what its apologists say about it; you should look at what the practitioners of it do".*
>
> *(Geertz, 1973: p.5)*

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methods employed in the research. After presenting the main assumptions of the study, it describes how the mixed-method approach combined ethnographic case studies with video analysis and reflection by making. It explains how archaeological concepts and lexicon are applied in a theoretical framework for the study of British contemporary pottery practices. It describes how each method employed for the collection, analysis and presentation of data was used individually and in combination. Finally, the development of the analysis of ribbing illustrates how methods were executed in practice and resulted in the findings of the study.

3.1.1 Methodological assumptions

This research elicited and collected evidence of making processes and their meanings. It is concerned with concepts, interpretations, values and experiences involved in hand-making procedures and in the multiple cultural explanations discussed by potters and authors. This qualitative study is informed by quantifiable data but also explores phenomena which are neither measurable nor univocal. Findings were produced through an inductive process which began with detailed observations and moved towards abstract generalisations and ideas (Neuman, 2014: p.69).

3.1.1.1 Philosophical assumptions

A set of assumptions guided the development of the research, from choosing appropriate methods to collecting, analysing and presenting information. Assumptions belong to five main categories: ontological, epistemological, axiological, rhetorical and methodological

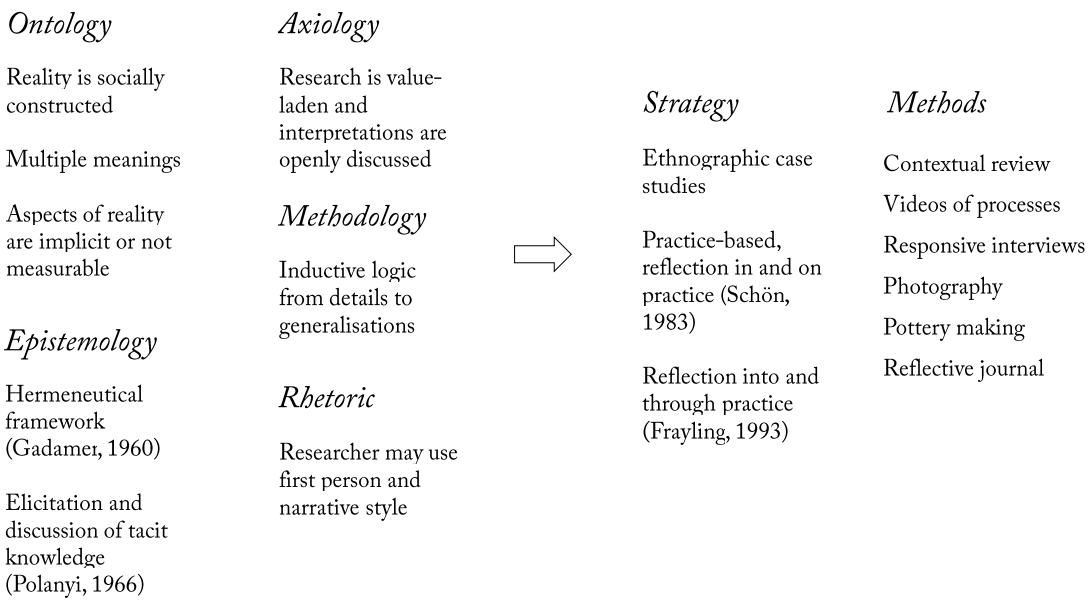

Figure 3.1 Assumptions underlying the choice of research methods (adapted from Creswell, 2012: p.17).

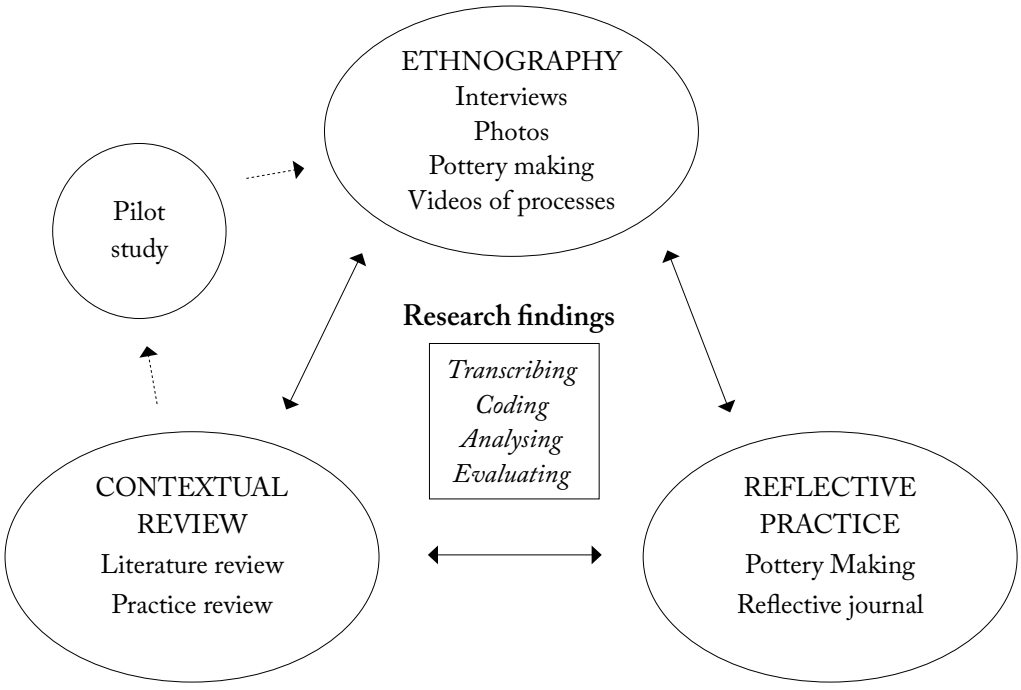

Figure 3.2 Summary of the research strategy for the generation of findings.

(Creswell, 2012: p.16).

The ontological assumption deals with the nature of reality. The study is built on the constructionist belief that "social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors" (Bryman, 2008: p.17). The study recognises reality is multiple and can be seen through many views, which may result in multiple interpretations of physical qualities and multiple narratives associated with hand-thrown tableware pottery. These are socially constructed by authors, potters and their peers, and made evident in the study by the interaction between researcher and participants (Creswell, 2012: p.25); Bryman, 2008: p.19), and by a review of literature [Section 2.1].

In terms of axiology, the study engages with values and personal beliefs. It is designed to acknowledge multiple views, and to frame and minimise the bias of the researcher. The rhetorical assumption is in line with the reflective approach followed in the study: research findings, technical explanations and descriptions of theory are presented in the third person but the researcher is present in the text, and a personal narrative style is used to describe the way the study is conducted, e.g. in the prologue and in Chapter 5 on site fieldwork.

The assumptions that informed the research strategy and the choice of methods are summarised in the diagram in Figure 3.1.

3.1.2 Hermeneutics

3.1.2.1 Hermeneutical circle

Hermeneutics is "concerned with the theory and method of the interpretation of human action" (Bryman, 2008: p.15). The interpretation of meaning in the study follows the hermeneutic approach elaborated by Gadamer, according to whom "interpretation begins with fore-conceptions that are replaced with more suitable ones" (2004: p.269). The progressive disclosure of data and interpretation of its meanings are conducted through an iterative investigation of elemental making operations through all the methods employed in the study. A hermeneutical circle is established between the interpretation of each piece of information and that of the whole (ibid: p.189).

3.1.2.2 Dialogical reasoning

Rather than treating the prejudice that derives from prior assumptions as bias, the

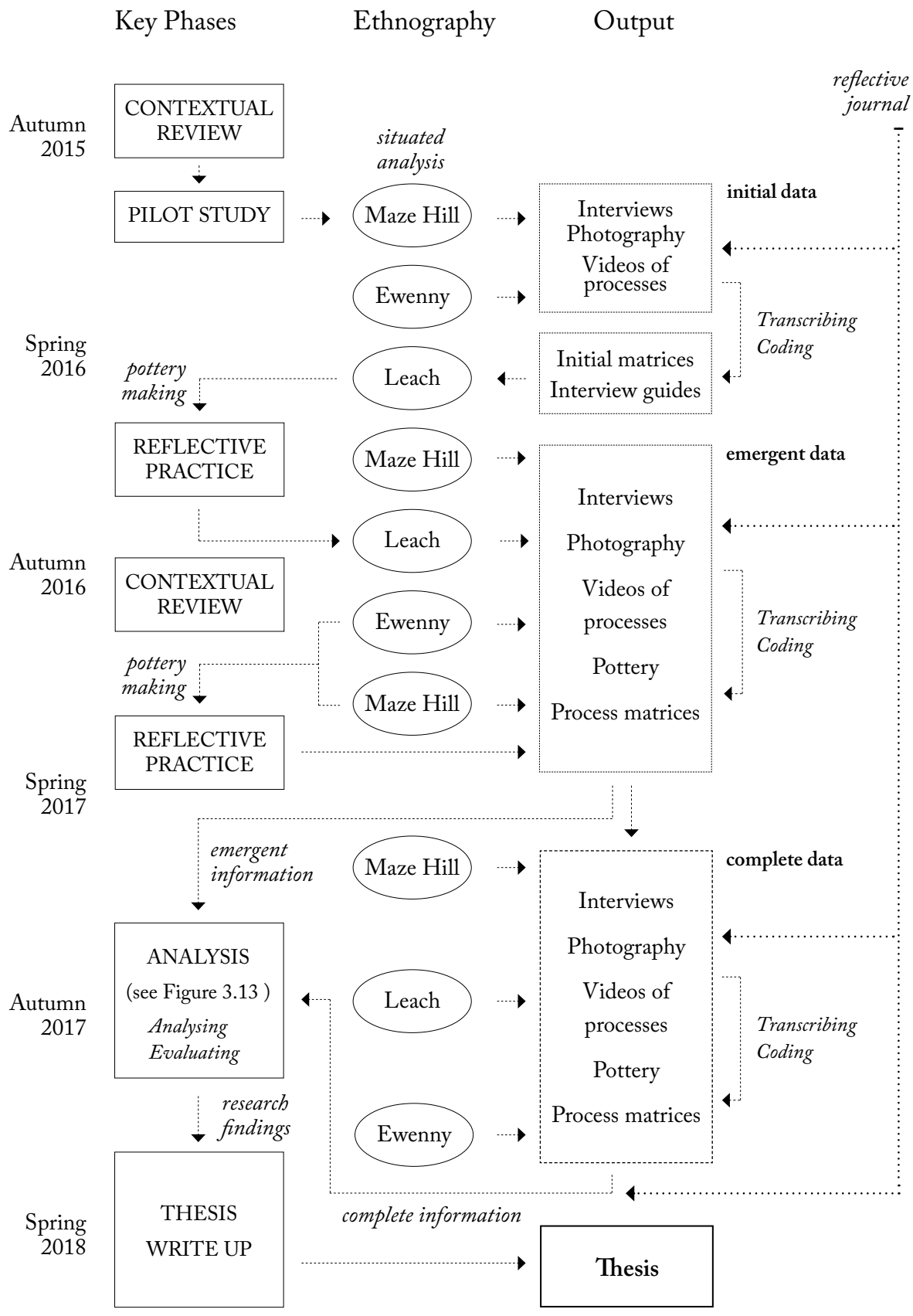

Figure 3.3 Summary of the implementation of key research phases, indicating periods of fieldwork and generation of emerging output.

study followed the principle of 'dialogical reasoning', which requires the clarifications of philosophical assumptions and awareness of the study's own historicity (Gadamer, 2004: p.351; Klein and Myers, 1999: p.76).

The prologue to Chapter 1 noted how the initial research questions, focus and standpoints changed over time, as evidence from the analysis was disclosed and new interpretations were formed.

3.1.3 Research strategy

The research was built through iterations of three main approaches: a contextual review, ethnographic research on site, and reflective practice (Figure 3.2).

An initial literature and practice review, and a pilot to practise interview techniques and test equipment informed the first site visits. Ethnographic fieldwork produced a wide range of evidence on pottery practices, which required further analysis of texts, and informed experimentation and reflection off-site. This in turn inspired more reading and researching, and informed subsequent fieldwork. All evidence generated in this process was systematically transcribed or described, coded, analysed and evaluated. These tasks were conducted at the same time as generating evidence. The complex iterations of the three-stage process produced the research findings discussed in this thesis.

The implementation of the methods involved a more complex sequence of stages, summarised in Figure 3.3. This is illustrated by the development of the findings on ribbing, described in Section 3.2.13.

3.2 Research methods

This section introduces the methods used in the research. It explains their theoretical basis and describes their implementation. Each component of the diagram in Figure 3.2 is described in the following paragraphs.

3.2.1 Contextual review

The review of contemporary tableware practices, literature on pottery and contextual publications was conducted throughout the research period and only interrupted during intensive periods of fieldwork. Books, articles and other publications were reviewed in the

reflective journal alongside fieldnotes and other notes. Reading other authors' accounts of pottery practices enhanced the understanding of the subject and informed the analysis of all material. In turn, issues and questions emerging from the analysis often guided the choice of literature to review. This ongoing exchange shaped the analysis of the information collected and reinforced arguments by grounding them in existing theories, personal accounts and technical descriptions. It also helped locate the contribution to the field by clarifying the existing limitations in knowledge [discussed in Section 2.3].

3.2.1.1 Initial practice review and selection of case studies

An initial review of literature and pottery practices was conducted at the beginning of the study (i.e. autumn 2015) to map information relevant to contemporary tableware potters and locate the study in its field. The review identified initial gaps and biases which would be addressed in the study, and suggested the need for an approach grounded in procedural and cultural analyses of pottery making processes.

Three maps located British tableware potters by location, tradition and training. The maps facilitated conversations about the research, and helped visualise and challenge assumptions. In fact, the initial review reflected a bias towards urban studio potters and overlooked well-established practices and country potteries, as was later identified and corrected.

Subsequent iterations of the contextual review resulted in the discussion presented in Section 2.2, based on a more systematic list of criteria (Research Journal, 22 Nov 2015). However, the initial review informed the study and provided characteristics to consider in the selection of the three case studies [see Table 4.1].

Agreement to participate in the research was granted following visits to the three workshops and discussions on the purpose and nature of a potential collaboration. Upon approval by the lead potters, fieldwork started in February 2016 (and was completed in May 2017).

3.2.2 Pilot study

At the same time as undertaking the initial contextual review, a pilot study was conducted to confirm the effectiveness of the methods chosen for the enquiry and practice responsive interviewing. The pilot was also used to test the type of photographic, video and audio

recordings that could practically be collected on site (Pink, 2013: p.55). The three participants for the pilot study were recruited among a network of acquaintances in London pottery studios[1].

The experience consisted of one-hour long conversations (over a period of 2-3 hours) filmed on digital cameras and conducted on a different day for each potter. The interviewees were asked to make a familiar functional shape on the wheel while their actions were filmed. Video interviews were expected to capture the actions of the potters at work as well as their responses to semi-structured lists of questions about processes. Prior to each interview, a list of topics was prepared to be used as interview guide, as recommended by Bryman (2008: p.438). After covering background information about each potter's approach and training, the conversations would move to their actions at the wheel and cover questions about their ways of throwing, following a responsive interviewing method (Rubin and Rubin, 2005: p.36).

The pilot failed to create conditions similar to those of subsequent fieldwork, but produced useful feedback on issues, such as:

- the position of the cameras when filming;
- the spatial layout of the interview;
- the appropriateness of the equipment (i.e. cameras, tripod, batteries, memory cards);

and, more generally, it provided useful experience in interviewing techniques.

The approach to conducting fieldwork throughout the study was further developed during the first round of interviews at Maze Hill Pottery and Ewenny Pottery in winter 2016, and remained substantially unchanged in subsequent phases. Its components are discussed in the sections below.

3.2.3 Ethnography

This research is informed by a comparison of three main case studies: Ewenny Pottery in Wales, the Leach Pottery in Cornwall and Maze Hill Pottery in London. These were

1 Pottery teacher Freya Bramble-Carter agreed to be interviewed at her father Chris Bramble's studio at Kingsgate Workshops, London. She then suggested potters Judith Hanson and Mike Summers would also be available.

conducted through ethnographic methods of data collection, analysis and reporting. Ethnography is a qualitative research design which aims to describe and interpret a culture-sharing group (Creswell, 2012: p.68). Each pottery establishment is considered as a case study, defined as a study of a bounded system (i.e. a case) over a period of time, conducted through detailed in-depth collection of data using various sources (ibid: p.73). Some scholars describe ethnography and case studies as alternative research designs (ibid: p.10), others as alternative research strategies (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008: p.9). This study follows Robert K. Yin's idea of case studies as a research strategy which can make use of ethnography and participant observation as data collection methods (2009: p.15).

The term ethnography can indicate both the research method and its written output (Creswell, 2012: p.68; Davies, 1999: p.4). Each ethnographic case study can be seen as a 'micro-ethnography' (Wolcott, 1990 cited in Bryman, 2008: p.403) or a 'focused ethnography', i.e. an ethnography that "deals with a distinct problem in a specific context and is conducted within a sub-cultural group rather than within a cultural group that differs completely from that of the researcher" (Wall, 2015: p.3). The ethnographic accounts presented in Chapter 5 describe the work conducted on site and some initial observations in the format of 'ethnography' as a method for presenting data, but for the most part ethnographic methods were employed to elicit and record information for analysis [i.e. to inform Chapter 6, 7 and 8].

Ethnographic fieldwork in this study comprises direct observations, unstructured conversations, semi-structured video interviews, videos of pottery making processes, photography, a reflective journal and the experience of making pottery on site. Fieldwork enabled direct engagement with practitioners for an extended period (Creswell, 2012: p.90). Semi-structured interviews with the potters provided a systematic method for collecting information which related to the research questions (Rubin and Rubin, 2005: p.4). Ethnography also involved a full immersion in the environment of the study, during which information could be exchanged outside of formal interviews (Emerson et al., 1995: p.100), including through unstructured conversations, as discussed below.

3.2.4 Conversations and interviews

3.2.4.1 Definitions and scope

Interviews and conversations with participants were the principal methods employed in the study to gather biographical material, generate data on pottery techniques, clarify information and discuss emerging concepts. The ethnographic setting allowed for freedom in the sequencing of questions, exact wording and time dedicated to each topic (Robson, 2002: p.278). Qualitative 'in-depth' interviews and conversations (Rubin and Rubin, 2005: p.3; Bryman, 2008: p.438) were unstructured or semi-structured. This way of interviewing:

> *"approaches a problem in its natural setting, explores related and contradictory themes and concepts, and points out the missing and the subtle, as well as the explicit and the obvious" (Rubin and Rubin, 2005: p.viii).*

The interviews were responsive, as questions followed the participants' answers in the discussion (Rubin and Rubin, 2005: p.36), and semi-structured, i.e. guided by a pre-made list of topics. Process matrices (see Section 3.2.4.3 below) were often used as interview guides and flexible questions were used to fill the gaps between - or clarify - the data already collected.

Unstructured conversations were also conducted during ethnographic fieldwork to complement the data collected in other ways (Robson, 2002: p.278; Denzin and Lincoln, 2008: p.129). These often took the form of the 'friendly conversation' described by Spradley (1979: p.461).

3.2.4.2 Video-interviews with participants

The term 'video' in this study indicates a range of data recorded using a digital video camera. The main distinction is made between video-interviews and videos of processes. The pilot study showed the research could not follow a 'think-aloud' protocol (Ericsson, 2006: p.224) to capture and interpret activities performed by the potters, as this would disrupt the naturalistic approach of the enquiry and fail to capture standard making procedures. As potters' reflections occur in action (Schön, 1983), interpretation disrupts the natural flow of the making process. For these reasons elicitation was split into two main stages: actions were filmed uninterruptedly in videos of processes, and separate interviews were conducted either during or after making.

Process matrix	Florian Gadsby		Darren Ellis	
Participants		Florian Gadsby		Darren Ellis
Clay type		A mix of 3 different bodies from Valentine's: Svend Bayer's wood firing body, Spencroft and 'studio' body (dark iron clay) and sand, occasionally with a bit of crank added. The clay is a bit short and not ideal for throwing but strong and durable		A mix of 3 different bodies from Valentine's: Svend Bayer's wood firing body, Spencroft and 'studio' body (dark iron clay) and sand, occasionally with a bit of crank added. The clay is a bit short and not ideal for throwing but strong and durable
Recycling clay		All clay waste is recycled by Florian. The proportion of recycled clay is small nowadays, it was much higher when Florian started		*All clay waste is recycled by Florian. The proportion of recycled clay is small nowadays, it was much higher when Florian started*
Wheel type		Ratcliffe, British made. Sturdy and comfortable to use, the pedal is fixed on the right side		Shimpo whisper, it belongs to Darren.
Tools		Mirror, gauge, throwing bowl leather, metal rib, turning tool wire, ruler, scrape bucket, metal kidney, MH stamp		Pointer (same as Florian's), ruler, wire, plastic jug, metal kidney, bamboo tool, sponge on a stick, a plastic rib made at his college
General posture		He leans and curves over the wheel head when throwing, the pedal is fixed on the right. Thanks to the mirror he does not need to move much		He sits higher than the wheel head, his forearm pointing down, the wheel is relatively small for him, he sets the speed up with his right leg and then leaves the pedal
Throwing the ball		He takes the ball with the left, throws with the right, attaches firm on the head when the wheel just started spinning, then taps it. The wheel has a creep and doesn't really stop spinning.		He places the ball on the still wheel head and presses down with his left palm
Centring		He does some low coning, twice, then presses with the side of the right hand, mostly with the little finger and tips of other fingers, holding the clay in place with the left, while still coning lightly		He cones lightly a couple of times mostly with his left hand, pressing down with the left palm and thumb, pressing his right hand onto his left wrist
Opening the hole		He holds the clay with the left, keeps his hands anchored with his right thumb on his left hand. Left thumb and right index go down in the clay together, with the wall ending up between the right index and middle fingers		He opens the hole with his left index against right middle and ring fingers
Opening the cylinder		He opens hole and cylinder in one movement, pulling the same left thumb and right index towards himself, slightly apart		He opens the cylinder with the same configuration, rotating the three fingers on the base and also compressing
Compressing the base		He bends his right thumb and runs it across the base sometimes pushed down with his left index, from side to middle and back, adding a light spiral		Same movement, rotating the base he compresses it and leaves a characteristic spiral
First pull		He pulls with anchored hands, right knuckle outside and fingertips of his left middle, ring and little fingers inside. The left index is on the rim		He pushes the ring of clay with his outer right knuckle onto the left fingers inside the cylinder, raising a parallel wall. He tidies up the rim in the same movement

Figure 3.4 Extract of the process matrix spreadsheet for Maze Hill Pottery.

The video-interviews consisted of conversations filmed on digital video to record "knowledge-in-action" (Schön, 1983: p.59) and other explicit knowledge held by the participants: the potters' own accounts of making methods in their own words. They also collected information about the potters' background, training history and personal views on the subject. Naturalistic video-interviews and filmed conversations avoided disruptions to the normal operations conducted in the pottery, but some more formal interviews were also conducted (e.g. MH06).

A total of approximately 150 interviews and conversations with the potters were recorded for the study, mostly on video. The complete list is shown on page 415.

3.2.4.3 Process matrices

Information on the making processes followed in the workshops was collated in 'process matrix' spreadsheets [extracts are shown in Appendix B]. The matrices show the entire sequence of operations followed in a workshop to make a mug, with steps illustrated by a photo and briefly described in text. The methods followed by the potters are shown side by side, to facilitate direct comparisons (Figure 3.4).

The contents were purely descriptive and only indicative of the processes, as more detailed and reflective notes were collected in fieldnotes (see Section 3.2.8 below). The spreadsheet format ensured an efficient and systematic strategy for data collection, with gaps progressively filled during and after each period of fieldwork.

A distinction is made between the process matrix, i.e. a tool for the collection and analysis of data, and the 'operational sequence' spreadsheet, i.e. a purely analytical tool discussed in Section 3.2.9.7.

3.2.4.4 Interview content and schedule

Conversations and interviews with the potters followed a standard pattern. Typically, on the first day on site, they covered questions on biographical data and the sequence of operations followed in the pottery. On subsequent days, conversations aimed at the completion of a draft process matrix which described the entire process followed in each workshop. The matrix was used as an interview guide to gather information systematically, discuss individual operations and allow meanings and narratives to emerge from the conversations.

Interviews on qualities and narratives associated with the tableware typically involved inspecting objects while recording the potters' comments. Questions were asked about appearances, qualities, standards of judgement, and their links to the way the pots were made (e.g. EP14).

A journal extract from the Leach study describes a typical schedule:

> *"The workshop was noisy today but I managed to take some important videos of Kat [Wheeler] talking about her processes and a bit more of Roelof [Uys]'s experience, besides videos of making processes. We shall continue our chat tomorrow, when I'll ask him about the evolution of the standard ware. I'll also interview Richard [James] in the morning and Britta [Wengeler-James] in the afternoon. I have an appointment with Libby [Buckley] on Thursday at 2pm. I'd also like to ask Lexie [McLeod] a few questions and interview Laurence [Eastwood], Matt [Foster] and Callum [Trudgeon] about their way of making mugs" (Research Journal, 26 July 2016).*

3.2.4.5 Potters' familiarity with filming

Digital cameras are a common technology and potters often use it in their professional and domestic environments. The Leach potters are often filmed by visitors or TV crews (as experienced during fieldwork on 27th July 2016), and generally showed familiarity with using cameras in the workshop. The Jenkins at Ewenny have also been filmed a few times and published short clips of their methods on their website. At Maze Hill, Lisa Hammond has been the subject of a documentary (Goldmark Gallery, 2012d) and was filmed on many occasions, whilst Florian Gadsby regularly shares short videos of his techniques on social media. All potters are also video users and mentioned watching online clips of historical and contemporary potters. The potters' familiarity with the medium made it easier to employ it on site.

3.2.5 Videos of processes

3.2.5.1 Definitions and scope

The expression 'video of processes' is used in this study to indicate a digital video clip taken in a workshop to document the operations performed by potters when they make tableware. In contrast with the video-interviews, the videos of processes were filmed without seeking conversation with the potters and aimed to capture their actions uninterruptedly. Video analysis of making processes was an integral part of the research, which fed into - and was informed by - all the other methods. For Trevor Marchand "visual representation is vital to the study of craft" (2015a: p.308). Visual content can be used not

just to document but "as a medium through which new knowledge and critiques may be created" (Pink, 2013: p.25 paraphrasing sociologist Elizabeth Chaplin, 1994).

The videos of processes were used as part of a wider ethnographic approach which included the direct observation of actions in their natural settings, informal activities and conversations during and outside of working hours. In reality, videos can only capture a fraction of what happens on site (Emerson et al., 1995: p.9). On some occasions, the actions are not clearly identifiable in the videos: e.g. when centring, opening (LP31) or placing a hand inside the pot. This confirms the importance of the synergy with other methods, such as conversations with the potters and direct experimentation of methods.

Videos complemented direct observations and reflections on making pottery, sometimes providing a visual record for information also collected in other ways, e.g. in fieldnotes. Research findings exploited the synergy created by the direct observation of events in their entirety during fieldwork, the visual reminders provided by videos and photos, and the possibility to analyse actions recorded on camera in detail at later stages.

The study employed videos of processes in many ways and at different stages, to:

- Record actions as they happened, generating evidence of processes taken in naturalistic settings;
- Observe actions at different speeds (e.g. slow motion) to enable detailed examination of techniques;
- Compare and interpret techniques by juxtaposing actions performed by different participants, in split-screen video collages (e.g. LP_v01);
- Illustrate and disseminate research findings, e.g. in exhibitions and presentations;
- Reflect on standpoints and assumptions as a researcher and video maker; and
- Confirm information and evaluate findings by showing videos back to potters and recording their feedback (see Section 3.2.10.2).

3.2.5.2 Filming conditions and bias

The conditions in which videos are filmed may affect the faithfulness of the actions recorded. Discretion and consent were used to minimise any disruptions introduced by the

presence of the researcher on site and the use of cameras, e.g. by filming at a distance or by using small and less invasive equipment (i.e. a GoPro camera) whenever possible.

MacDougall makes a useful distinction between "a purely responsive camera, an interactive camera, and a constructive camera" (2006: p.4), illustrated in the Figures on page 126. Videos of processes produced in the study can be grouped in a few sub-categories, based on filming conditions and purpose:

- [responsive or interactive] videos focusing on the potters' movements with no particular use of sound other than background noises (e.g. the spinning of the wheel). These were used to compile the process matrices (Figure 3.5)
- [interactive] videos in which potters explain their actions, providing useful explicit information about processes but conducted in 'unnatural' speed and conditions. These sometimes turned into video-interviews;
- [interactive] close ups to explore specific aspects of the making procedures (e.g. finger configurations while pulling handles, MH03), used in combination with other videos of the same process (Figure 3.6);
- [constructive] videos taken in controlled conditions to enable direct comparisons (e.g. making mug cylinders at the Leach, LP19 to LP26 or comparing methods at the wheel at Ewenny, Figure 3.7); and
- [responsive/constructive] time lapses to produce a compact illustration of a lengthy process, where detailed information was taken in the form of fieldnotes and photographs, or other videos (e.g. loading the large gas kiln at the Leach pottery on 27th July 2016).

The conditions in which the videos were produced were recorded in fieldnotes, "thus situating video within the wider research process" (Pink, 2013: p.196). This included noting down if actions were recorded as they occurred in the workshop (i.e. responsive or interactive camera) or potters were asked to perform a task for the camera (i.e. constructive). In reality, a purely responsive camera was never possible as permission to film potters at work preceded each session, but in most cases the recording of processes was opportunistic. As the potters continued to work on a batch of pots, in a continuous flow

of actions, videos could capture the ways operations were performed. Staging of specific conditions for filming was only used when direct comparisons were sought across actions performed by different potters (for example at the Leach pottery on 20th April 2016, for LP_v01).

Chance and serendipity in the interviews could cause videos to change purpose or use, e.g. the potter started to comment on a process and so initiated a brief interview. Ethnographic data collection allowed for such flexibility and any chance was taken to record useful observations. The personal disposition of the interviewees to engage in conversation varied across participants, different days and conditions of filming, but the repetitive nature of the tasks observed generally offered many occasions in which processes could be captured on camera.

3.2.5.3 Filming content and schedule

Typically, on the first day in a workshop, any process available for filming would be captured. The material would be used to create still frames and compile an initial process matrix to use as interview guide from the next day. Once the required videos were collected and mapped, filming concentrated on processes which were missing from the matrix, or only partly described. A new typology (e.g. pouring bowls, LP10) or material (e.g. porcelain, LP06) could be introduced, and spark further filming. The brief duration of each activity – from a few seconds to a few minutes – led to extensive data collection, as any video had the potential to unlock relevant information. Occasionally potters suggested tasks they were about to perform, anticipating they would be interesting to record (e.g. LP90).

In their study of South-East Asian pottery, Cort and Lefferts pointed out their:

> *"documentation uses video recording to capture the unedited production process from start to finish, with the camera running continuously, not selectively" (2010: p.3).*

In this study, however, the complexity and duration of the processes observed required several filming sessions over days or weeks to capture the making of a pot. The inevitable selective nature of the videos was contrasted by the comprehensive coverage of all phases required to make a tableware typology, presented in the process matrix, based on the potters' own accounts of their operational sequences.

Figure 3.5 A still from a 'responsive' naturalistic video of Alun Jenkins pulling handles from mugs at Ewenny (video still: 4 Mar 2016).

Figure 3.6 An 'interactive' approach was used at Maze Hill to film Florian Gadsby (video still: 10 June 2016).

Figure 3.7 A more staged 'constructive' approach was used at Ewenny to compare Alun Jenkins's (left) and Caitlin Jenkins's (right) methods of throwing mug cylinders (video still: 3 Mar 2016).

Figure 3.8 The 7 o'clock view enables the clear recording of actions at the wheel (video still: 22 Apr 2016).

Figure 3.9 The throwing setup to practice the Leach mugs at college before the second work experience on site (photo: 1 June 2016).

3.2.5.4 Camera views

Unlike videos of processes made by galleries and potters to showcase their work (e.g. Goldmark Gallery, 2012d, 2014a, 2014b), the videos filmed in the study prioritised an authentic rendition of actions performed on site over photography. Though attractive conditions of lighting and background were preferred, the aim of the videos was to capture actions clearly, to enable the analysis of movements and inspire questions for the potters.

The position of the camera while filming was a compromise between obtaining a clear view of the action and minimising disruptions to operations in the workshop. The use of a tripod could take up much needed space, especially in circulation areas. When this was not possible, operations took priority and filming was delayed.

For tasks performed at the potter's wheel, using the analogue clock reference, videos were typically taken from a 7 o'clock direction, with the potter's seat located at 12 noon. This was a frontal view slightly skewed to the right side of the pot, so the actions of the fingers were clearly visible (Figure 3.8). The camera was positioned above the plane of the wheel-head, typically on a tripod or adjacent table top. This assumed the wheel spun in an anti-clockwise direction, as it is common in the UK. The Leach kickwheels can spin in either direction, and this determined the side from which actions were filmed.

3.2.6 Photography

3.2.6.1 The use of photos in the study

Photography is an important component of many ethnographic studies and has a "long and varied history in ethnography" (Pink, 2013: p.73). In this study photos were used to collect information for subsequent analysis and provided a visual reference for concepts or actions explained in the text. Over 3000 photos were taken over the course of the study.

If videos were best used for actions performed within a short time frame, photos were employed to capture operations occurring over long periods of time without much action, e.g. the drying of pots on racks. High quality photos were taken of the workshop environments, potters at work and pots at different stages of completion. Photos were best suited to record static objects such as tools, materials and machinery. They could be staged to illustrate meaningful associations or taken to witness events as they unfolded, with

practically no interaction with the subject.

Photos were also used as reminders to inspire further descriptions and reflections. Art critic John Berger's sees photographs as being rich in evidence and weak in meaning: they require words to be interpreted (1989: p.92 cited in Kay, 2007: p.134). The evidence provided by photos and other visual material required interpretation in light of interviews, reflection and review of literature.

In this study a photo can perform one or more functions, such as:

- Record subjects to illustrate the content of the enquiry;
- Contribute to a visual catalogue of places, people, actions, tools, settings, machinery and materials;
- Remind the specific context in which the data was collected, to inspire further descriptive notes and reflections;
- Frame concepts and focus on details; and
- Capture actions at salient moments, when filming is not considered possible, appropriate, useful or necessary. E.g. as visual references in the process matrices.

3.2.6.2 Taking photos whilst making pottery

The dusty environment of a working pottery workshop is not ideal for the use of high-quality cameras and clean electronic equipment. As a matter of fact, this presented no technical issues, except when directly helping out with tasks or being involved in making processes.

Taking photos to document the making practice was more challenging, as clean hands and frequent interruptions were required. Photos were typically taken at the start and end of each session to show the setup (Figure 3.9), progress and issues with the pots being made [e.g. see Figures on page 166].

3.2.6.3 Limitations in the use of photography

Photos can provide "meaningful visual information" which can be employed to convey tacit and sensory qualities, complementing or replacing written accounts (Edwards, 1992 cited in Pink, 2013: p.74). The study makes extensive use of photography to capture the qualities

of hand-thrown tableware, especially in Chapter 6, however this has proven problematic. Photos provide some visual evidence of physical qualities in tableware pottery but can be misleading and remain ultimately insufficient.

Authors and potters explain the true appreciation of qualities requires other means, such as the haptic experience of holding the pots in one's hands. For Rawson:

> *"Photographs can only be interpreted with the greatest difficulty to suggest how the objects of which they are shadows of shadows should be handled. The way to find the proof is actually to handle objects made for the hand" (1971: p.22).*

Similarly, Mick Casson warned students from pictures in pottery catalogues and concluded that to appreciate a pot you should "pick it up, fit it in your hand and look at it with your eye" (Jiseys, 2015).

The gap between visual representations and physical appreciation of qualities is positively exploited in photo-based social media platforms such as Instagram, on which pottery can be displayed at its best. Photos ultimately fail to capture handmade qualities because they:

- Only offer a single view point at any one time and convey no sense of movement: e.g. how features flow along the lines, how a design works three-dimensionally in one's hand, and how light is reflected or glitters from different angles;
- Indicate the shape of a pot but may not provide a sense of scale;
- Show an indication of colour which is heavily affected by lighting and background;
- When they focus on detail, views are limited to single portions of the objects and may offer no sense of how elements work as a whole;
- Cannot capture important properties and qualities invisible to the camera, such as weight, thickness or roughness to the touch; and
- Can distort, amplify and reduce views beyond ordinary human experience. E.g. they can show small cracks in the pots otherwise difficult to see.

In the attempt to alleviate some of these issues, a written discussion of qualities is presented alongside photos of pots in Chapter 6.

3.2.7 Pottery making

3.2.7.1 Making as research method

Making mugs and other tableware typologies 'in the manner of' the practitioners observed was an integral part of the research strategy, conducted alongside other tasks at all stages in the study. A first-hand and comprehensive understanding of pottery processes went beyond a simple appreciation of techniques. It enabled dialogical reasoning by observing, recording and reflecting on pottery practice using information from multiple sources. Reflection on direct experimentation helped articulate and understand emergent findings. The interpretation of pottery methods and products through making evolved according to the iterative process described by Schön:

> *"The process spirals through stages of appreciation, action, and reappreciation. The unique and uncertain situation comes to be understood through the attempt to change it; and changed through the attempt to understand it" (1983: p.132).*

On a practical level, the imitation of the potters' practices followed a standard pattern:

- It began by making tableware that resembled the one analysed, by matching material properties, overall design and dimensions;
- Qualities of the original ware were reproduced using all means, including personal methods not observed on site;
- Once satisfactory results were produced, attempts were made to make the pots in the potters' own methods; and
- Ultimately, attempts failed to exactly reproduce the pots in question, but inspired in-depth reflections on the processes observed and interpretations of the potters' actions.

As noted in Section 3.2.5.1, making practice also helped clarify activities which could not be fully captured on video.

3.2.7.2 Practice-base ethnography

Ethnographers can engage in making activities to observe practices from the perspective of a member of the team, as a student or apprentice (e.g. Marchand, 2015a; O'Connor, 2005; Gowlland, 2015). In all case studies, the student status of the researcher facilitated access

to the workshops, as the potters were sharing opinions and explanations with an aspiring potter, rather than discussing methods more detachedly with an external observer.

Especially in the case of the Leach and Maze Hill potteries, entering the workshops as a pottery student replicated some of the conditions of apprenticeship, and prompted feedback from more experienced potters in ways that would have been hard to anticipate in interview questions. This corrected the techniques being tested on and off site, inspired additional reflections on the purpose of each action, and allowed for multiple descriptions and interpretations of methods to be collected from different potters.

At all stages in the research, the making practice informed the detailed analysis of operations and played a crucial role in prompting and enhancing the understanding of the qualities the potters aspired to achieve, and the narratives they attached to the making process. Its contribution for each case study is discussed in Chapter 4.

3.2.7.3 Mapping the process

The need to replicate continuous production processes, combined with the use of a process matrix to collect information systematically, ensured a clear understanding of the steps involved in making the tableware. Any variation or skipping of operations could result in changes visible in the final ware. The complete processes included tasks often overlooked in handbooks, such as packing kilns, moving pots confidently on boards, or cleaning pots before and after undertaking other operations.

The matrix format meant all tasks analysed were initially given the same importance. This enabled the assessment of salience to emerge from the study, limiting the bias introduced via existing hierarchies or false assumptions. The study shows that about 80 distinct operations are required for the making of mugs (e.g. at the Leach and Maze Hill).

3.2.7.4 Filming progress

In addition to taking photos and notes of the participants, the experience of making pottery in their manner was filmed, analysed and directly compared with the other videos of processes (Figure 3.10). This further elicited knowledge of methods and inspired additional reflections. For example, the variation among the Leach potters' level of proficiency in making could be assessed by noticing how mistakes and habits made by apprentices resembled those made by the researcher, whereas experienced potters demonstrated more

Figure 3.10 Practicing the mug cylinder at the Leach Pottery (video still: 14 Apr 2016).

Figure 3.11 First attempts to reproduce the Leach mug (photo: 29 June 2016).

Figure 3.12 Glaze bucket and stick used at Ewenny Pottery. The annotation to the picture (Research Journal, 30 Sept 2016) explained "the stick is only used by Jayne when she needs to retouch pots with glaze, she hates touching glaze or wet clay with her hands" (photo: 30 Sept 2016).

accurate or efficient techniques.

3.2.7.5 Making tableware products

Mugs and other tableware pots were produced as part of the research process, alongside textual and visual information. Each piece is a physical manifestation of the interpretation of the potters' designs and procedures, and the technical ability to reproduce them (Figure 3.11). Though not presented as part of the research output, their production and analysis informed the findings of the study as a prop to collect formative feedback and peer critique. A close observation of the pots made for the research, and comparison with those made by participants, informed the detailed description of qualities in Chapter 6 and, more generally, informed the study at all stages of data collection, analysis, evaluation and presentation.

3.2.8 Reflective journal

3.2.8.1 The format of the research journal

A regular journal was used to organise and collect documents (i.e. 'notes') in categories (i.e. 'notebooks'). Notes included fieldnotes taken during site visits, activity logs, reflections on making pottery, emergent research findings, task lists, concept maps, annotated photos and any other information related to the study. The same entry could include a description, an evaluation and a summary of findings (Gray and Malins, 2004: p.62).

The software Evernote was used to collect journal entries. Evernote is a simple digital notebook application and it was used as an 'off-loading device' to deposit information and ideas while they were being collected or generated (Emerson et al., 1995: p.13). All text produced for the research was held in a single application, accessible at any time on multiple digital devices, and ready to be coded and analysed. Entries could be typed on a laptop, tablet or mobile phone, making the system particularly convenient on site or during travelling.

3.2.8.2 Photos and notes

Photos were occasionally included in notes but more often notes were added to photos in the form of metadata and captions, as it was more time efficient and easier to manage. Annotated photos were an integral part of the reflective journal (see an example in Figure

3.12). Notes added to photos could be purely descriptive but often also indicated the rationale for taking the photos and other information which was not self-evident, for ease of reference at a later stage (Gray and Malins, 2004: p.108).

3.2.8.3 Reflective and descriptive notes

The journal included descriptive and reflective notes. Descriptive notes were taken almost daily to record activities, events, pottery techniques and other information useful for the study. A headline for each paragraph was used to split the content for ease of coding (see Section 3.2.9.3) and to mark the distinction between descriptive and reflective codes.

Quick reminders and key words could be jotted down during fieldwork to elicit more detailed writing afterwards, as any delay could blunt sensitivity and perception (Emerson et al., 1995: p.13). After a few days on site the need to film processes typically decreased and the focus could shift to recording conversations and taking notes.

The reflective journal was used as a personal document to record evidence for further discussion. Notes were written in a personal voice and aimed at capturing information in the moment. They tried to record others' voices without pretending objectivity but clarifying how the data was gathered, e.g. by specifying filming conditions and the general environment during fieldwork. Emerson notes the "inseparability of methods from findings" in ethnographic research (Emerson et al., 1995: p.11). The aim was to produce accounts which were dense in information and provide detailed interpretations of the events and the conditions in which they occurred, a method anthropologist Clifford Geertz called *thick description* (1973).

In the journal all notes were dated progressively, using the same naming convention as the folder containing the photos (e.g. 20160930 Ewenny). At the end of a day spent on site with the potters, notes were completed and reorganised, videos saved and photos annotated. This initiated an immediate interpretation of the material (the 'situated analysis' discussed in Section 3.2.9.2) which could inspire questions for interviews on the next day or visit.

3.2.9 The analytical process

The analysis of all material generated in the study was conducted as the research progressed, in line with hermeneutic principles. The process is summarised in Figure 3.13

and discussed below.

3.2.9.1 Unit of analysis

Individual making operations constitute the unit of analysis of the study and are discussed in isolation and combination with others. The resolution of the study is higher than that of most step-by-step instruction manuals (e.g. McErlain, 2002; Carter, 2016) but lower than others, e.g. Cohen's detailed manual of throwing (2008) and Malafouris's study of material agency involved in throwing (2008). However, the latter studies focus on specific phases in the making of pottery, whilst this research covers the entire manufacturing sequence.

Distinct operations were identified in such ways that they could facilitate discussions with the participants. The interpretation of the potters' actions started with the process of arbitrarily defining the beginning and the end of each operation, and choosing the still frame that best represented it. During throwing at the wheel, each operation was typically identified by one or very few finger configurations, or 'holds'. For other phases, a well-defined series of gestures, typically at a single location, meant each operation could be illustrated by a photograph (e.g. waxing a foot before glazing, or rimming a bowl with stain). The initial list of operations was refined during the course of the study based on the level of detail required to explain processes.

3.2.9.2 Situated analysis

The analysis of material began on site, when immediate connections could be made between the new evidence being generated and the emerging knowledge of the research subject. The reflective approach followed in the research effectively formed a constant situated analysis of all material, on and off site, collected in the research journal. This inspired initial grouping of themes and associations between terms and concepts, which were then tested in more formal and structured analysis.

3.2.9.3 Textual coding

Videos of processes and interviews required transcribing and coding before they could be analysed systematically. At the end of each period of fieldwork all the data collected on site was systematically analysed in Nvivo, a popular computer-aided qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). Nvivo is a 'code and retrieve' program which allows researchers to access data collected in various formats (i.e. text, videos, audio) in a simple and systematic

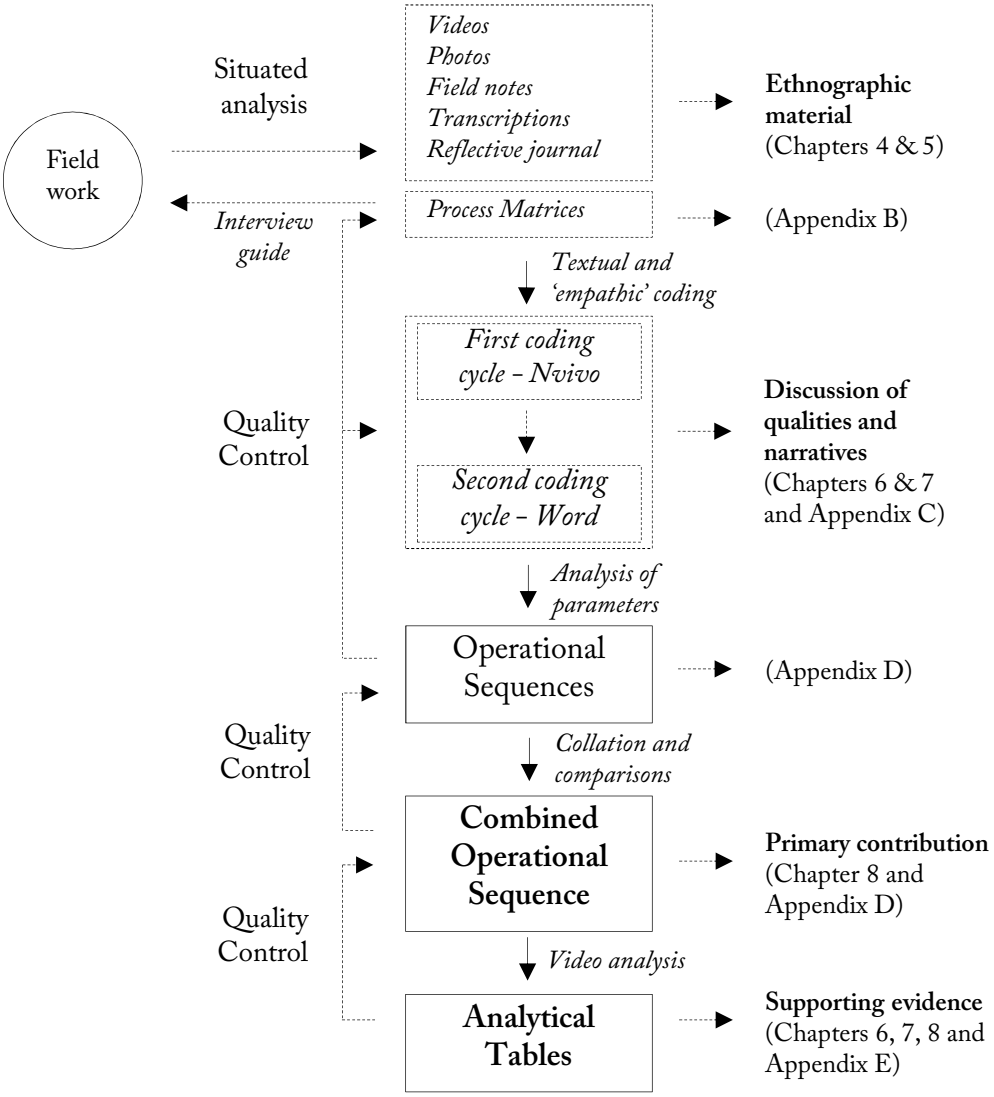

Figure 3.13 Diagram of the analytical process, showing how the findings of the study were produced.

way, code information across all sources and retrieve the codes later for analysis (Bryman, 2008: p.565).

Nvivo was used to transcribe video-interviews and code text following a code to theory protocol (Saldaña, 2009: p.11) by associating each word, sentence or paragraph to one or more key concepts (called 'nodes' in Nvivo). The programme offers a direct and easy link between codes and the original sources (including videos), which could be easily retrieved at any time in the analysis (Figure 3.14). This could be used to clarify any potential misunderstanding about the text by checking the original source. During coding, watching scenes in motion was a useful reminder of the atmosphere and real-life sequence of responses from the interviewees. Field notes taken on the day of the interview were typically reviewed at the same time, and consulted at all stages of coding and analysis.

Nodes identified in the first cycle of coding are included in Appendix C and key nodes on narratives are listed by case study in Section 7.1.1.

Words or phrases in the transcripts were coded using four categories: 'process', 'product', 'qualities' and 'narratives'. Any reference to aspects such as materials, tools, machinery and actions was coded as 'process'. Any reference to the type of clay and typology of product was coded as 'product'. Categories were not mutually exclusive, e.g. a reference to "turning the pouring bowls on the kickwheel" would be coded under both 'process' and 'product'. Coding in Nvivo follows a tree structure of subcategories, so that the coding of the example would be:

- Turning > Actions > Process
- Kickwheel > Wheel > Machinery > Process
- Bowl > Stoneware > Product

This enabled the identification of patterns at different levels of aggregation, in subsequent phases of analysis.

In addition to 'process' and 'product', the codes 'qualities' and 'narratives' were used to highlight references to physical qualities in the ware and any non-technical reference recorded in the interviews, respectively. Qualities included over 40 sub-codes, of which the most frequent are references to 'making marks', 'appearance', 'desired shape', 'bad', 'desired

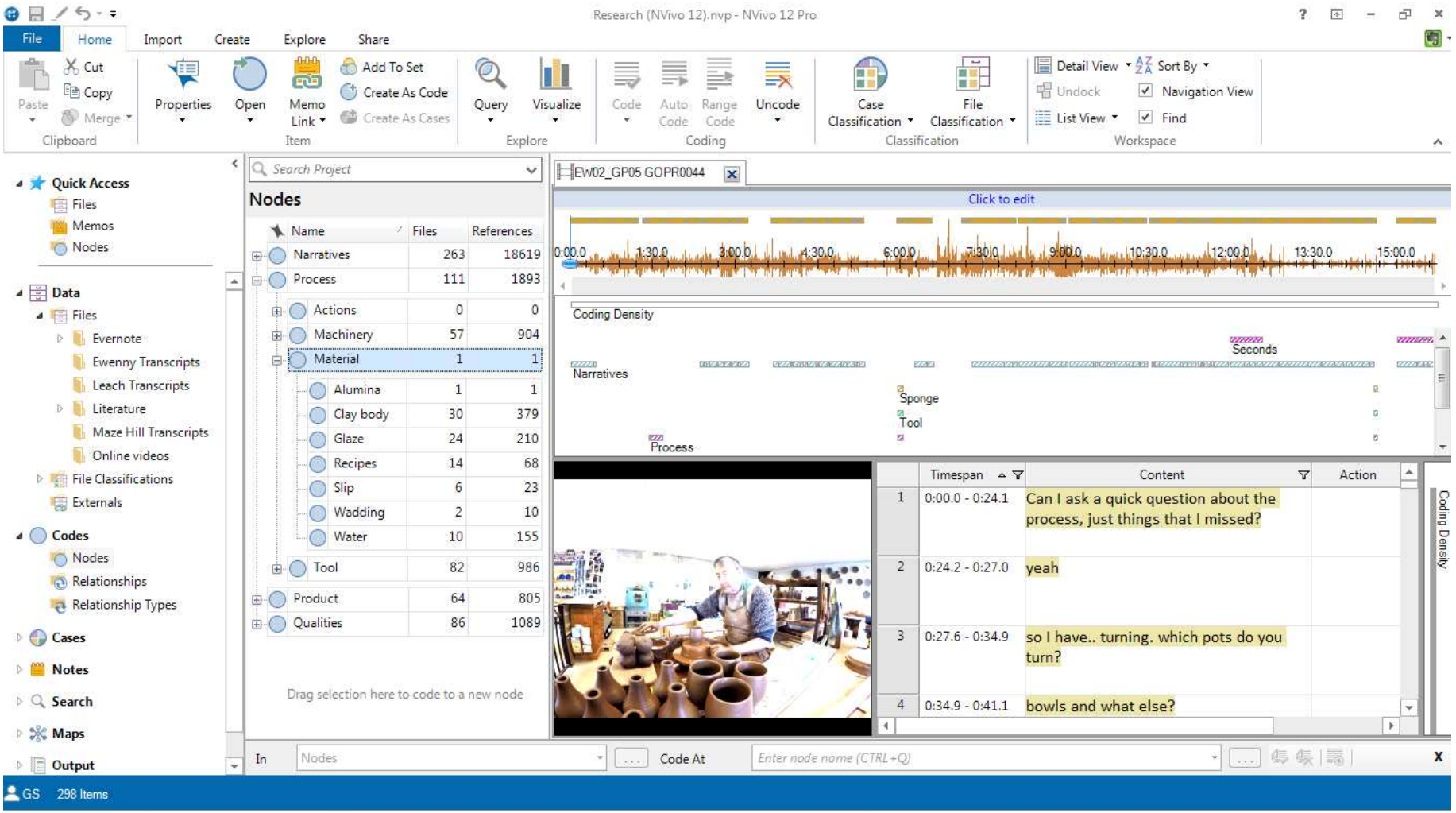

Figure 3.14 Coding transcripts in Nvivo. The text (right) is highlighted and linked to one or more 'nodes' (left), whilst the video is used as a reminder of the context of the interview.

size' and 'simple'. The complete list is shown in Appendix C.1 and the results of the coding of qualities are discussed in Chapter 6.

Narratives were more frequently cited in the conversations. They include interpretations of aspects of making such as 'personal methods', 'origin', 'training', 'operational management', 'efficiency' or 'quality control'. Coding included values such as 'localism', 'tradition', 'functionality', 'craftsmanship', 'affordability', etc. Any other cultural reference was coded under narratives, e.g. 'Bernard Leach', 'Japan' or 'Welsh'. A total of 99 distinct codes were identified for narratives, and a complete list is included in Appendix C.2. Results are discussed in Chapter 7.

3.2.9.4 'Empathic coding'

Making pots 'in the manner of' the participants observed also provided an additional tool for analysis. The imitative method of making required a physical embodiment of the potters' actions which enabled experiential understanding of methods. The process led to empathising with the potters' choices of operations, challenging their decisions in context and coding them for meaning by reflecting on the attempts to reproduce them. This process of 'empathic coding' through making was undertaken in addition to the textual coding of literature, video sequences and interview transcripts. The approach echoes Mike Harkins 'empathic memoing' (2018: p.68) and Nicola Wood's 'empathic indwelling' (2006: p.13), based on Polanyi's theory of indwelling (1966). Wood also worked with expert practitioners to simulate the communication of craft practice, which was the subject of her PhD research, and to address the need for a doctoral thesis to document the research process (2006: p.15).

Codes and reflections were collected in the research journal.

3.2.9.5 Video-based analysis

The analysis of the potters' actions recorded on video was central to the understanding of their making methods. Videos can be analysed either as images in motion or as still frames. Whilst motion can capture a dynamic action in its entire duration, still frames can be used to freeze it at given moments to enable analysis and reflection.

This is illustrated by the analysis of throwing techniques shown in the process matrix of the Leach case study [Appendix B.2], as shown in the extract in Figure 3.15. Most images are

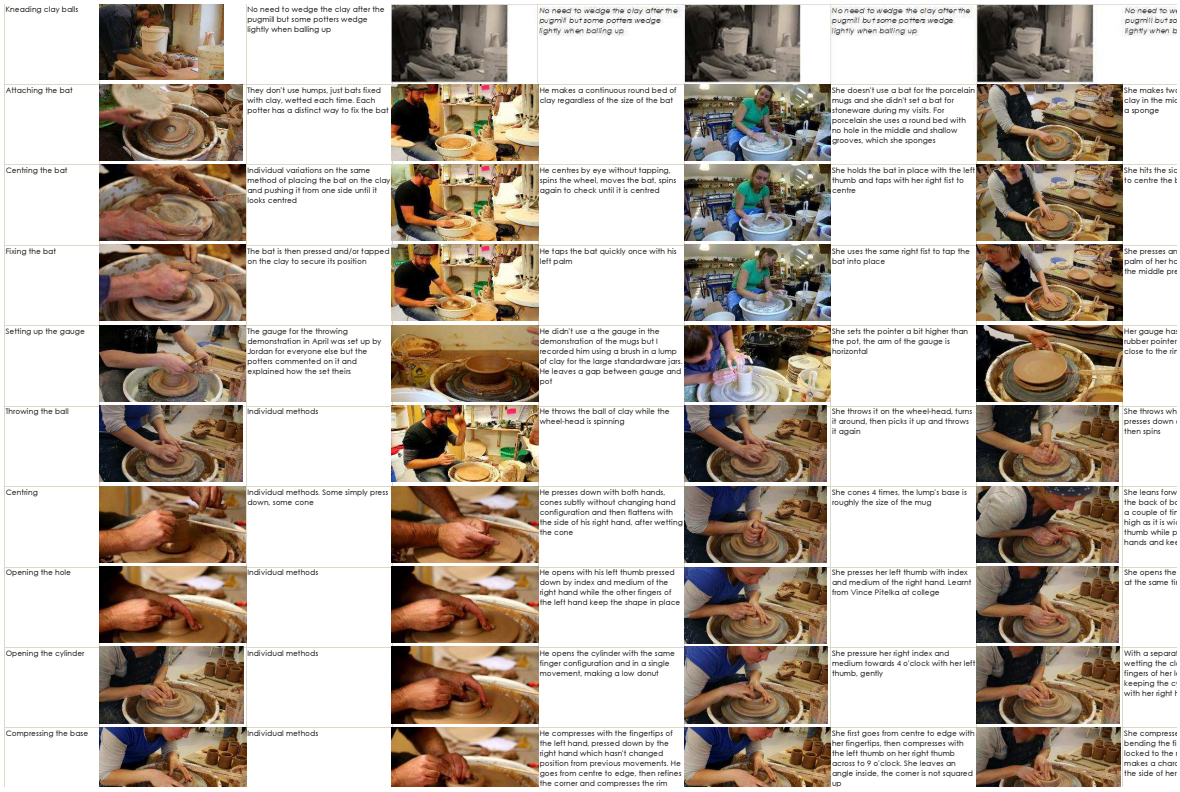

Figure 3.15 An extract from the process matrix describing the making of Leach standard ware mug.

Figure 3.16 A screenshot from the video collage LP_v01 comparing the Leach potters' methods of making the same mug cylinder (video still: 20 Apr 2016).

still frames taken from videos of processes. The continuity of the videos ensured all actions relating to a phase in the making could be recorded in one sitting. Still frames from the videos efficiently illustrated individual moments, captured elemental gestures and facilitated further conversations with the potters through the use of the matrix.

This manual method of coding of processes was conducted alongside the textual coding of conversations in Nvivo. It had the advantage to create a systematic taxonomy of operations that could be used at all phases of data collection (i.e. to highlight and fill gaps in knowledge), analysis (i.e. through direct comparison of operations) and presentation of findings (i.e. as an appendix to the written thesis, see Appendix B).

Admittedly, the use of still frames reduced the continuous process of making pottery to a sequence of discreet actions, but this simplification (and 'amplification', see Gowlland, 2015: p.294) was necessary to undertake in-depth interviews with participants about their personal making methods by using a single operation as unit of analysis. The original videos were also observed alongside to provide a direct reminder of the continuity of the actions.

Videos were also used as a more quantitative tool to measure the duration of each task. This was complemented by information collected in observations and interviews, and used to reflect on the relationship between the salience and duration of operations. The data was collected in operational sequence spreadsheets [Appendix D] and analytical tables [Appendix E].

3.2.9.6 Video collages

A simple but effective use of the videos of processes was the juxtaposition of clips showing potters performing the same tasks or the same potter engaged in different tasks. The first video collage produced in the study showed the methods used by Alun and Caitlin Jenkins to throw an Ewenny Mug (Figure 3.7). Using the same camera view and lighting, the potters were filmed throwing a small number of mugs, at different times and in short succession. The shortest clips were juxtaposed in a split screen video (EP_v01), which provided a direct comparison of methods used by the two potters.

This confirmed that videos are powerful tools for the elicitation of craft knowledge and observations that would not easily emerge from conversations and photo surveys (Harper, 2013: p.163). The potters' actions appeared almost synchronised in motion, but a detailed

	DESCRIPTION	RATIONALE
Illustration	A photo or video still	Provide visual reference
Description	Brief description of general methods observed, key actions and other relevant information	Provide key information for reference
Duration per mug (s)	Measured individually or estimated from that of a batch operation	Highlight the importance of brief actions in the making of pottery or the relatively low salience of long operations
Duration (info)	Original information on task duration	Show how the duration was calculated
Duration (source)	Measured in videos (if available), quoted from conversations or estimated based on knowledge of the processes	Show original source of information
Time-frame	'Running' operations are sections of a longer and continuous process. 'Batch' operations are conducted at the same time for multiple mugs and include preparatory tasks	Draw attention to the scale of the operation within the making process and/ or refer to the way the operation was observed
Activity	'Active' operations with hands, tools, machines or other materials. 'Passive' operations only involve circulation of air and heat	Indicate the agency exercised onto the pot, either via physical contact with the potter or via the environment in which the pot is placed
Action on materials	Physical shaping through forming, carving, layering other materials on the pots or moving them to another location	Indicate the type of transformation exercised onto the emerging pots, to enable further comparison among diverse operations
Contact	Primary contact with the pots: hand, tools, machinery or atmosphere	Allude to skills or knowledge the potter requires to conduct the operations
Tools	Key tools involved in the operations, even if not directly in contact with the pots	Show the key technology used in making pottery by hand
Machinery	Key machinery involved in the operations, even if not directly in contact with the pots	Show the key technology used in making pottery by hand
State of materials	Consistency of the clay materials during the making process, from liquid to plastic and solid	Suggest potential correlation with manufacturing salience
Role	Actions primarily aimed at subsequent phases are labelled as 'preparation' as opposed to 'generation' or 'preservation' of qualities	Highlight correlation with manufacturing salience
Feature affected	Main aspects of a pot which are affected at each operation in the making	Highlight correlation with manufacturing salience and specific qualities in the ware

Table 3.1 Descriptive parameters used to compile the operational sequence tables and conduct the analysis of salience.

analysis of individual operations showed minor differences [discussed in Section 8.2.3.5.2]. A similar video made at the Leach pottery (LP_v01), highlighted the variety of approaches followed by the potters to make the same product, partly due to their different backgrounds (Figure 3.16). These videos informed the analysis of methods presented in Chapter 8.

3.2.9.7 Operational sequences

The analysis of the manufacturing and cultural salience of each operation involved in the making of hand-thrown tableware pottery [Section 8.2] forms the core findings of this study. As anticipated in Section 2.1.2.7, the analysis of salience adopts concepts and terminology from Gosselain's theoretical framework (2000, 1992) for the study of cultural variation conducted through the analysis of operational sequences. For Gosselain:

> *"the analysis of the production sequence from a stylistic point of view indicates that the different stages can be ranked in terms of their salience as indices of cultural variation" (1992: p.582).*

The terms adopted from ethno-archaeology (Gosselain, 2000: p.191) include:

- Salience (indicated in this study as 'manufacturing salience') defined as the degree to which operations leave tangible evidence in the products (i.e. generate qualities in the ware);
- Technical malleability, defined as the likelihood that the way the operation is performed will change over time (i.e. the resilience of a potter's technological style in performing a given operation); and
- Social context, defined as the level of exposure to which the operation is subject in the workshop.

The analysis began with the creation of a taxonomy of making operations involved in the making of mugs in each case study workshop, based on their relative importance in generating or affecting qualities and narratives associated with the ware. Operational sequence tables were compiled based on the structure of the process matrices and informed by all material generated and coded in the study. A draft operational sequence was first created for each case, and originated in the description of processes gathered in the process matrices.

The parameters are defined in Table 3.1, Table 3.2 and Table 3.3, and illustrated in Figure

	DESCRIPTION	RATIONALE
Complexity	Level of skills and knowledge involved in performing a task correctly	Relate to the potters' skills and knowledge, and their use of tools and machinery
Origin of methods	References to potters' training history or instructions received by senior potters	Distinguish among narratives considered in the analysis of cultural salience
Variation	Any difference in the methods used across potters working in each workshop	Suggest links to technical malleability and potters' personal expression
Division of labour	Level of specialism at which operations are performed	Highlight narratives about the ways the workshops are run
Technical malleability	Likelihood of a method to do a given operation to change over time (Gosselain, 2000: p.192)	Identify resilient methods, likely to indicate a potter's personal approach
Social context	Exposure to others while making (Gosselain, 2000: p.191)	Assess the likelihood operation may be shaped by feedback from others
Technological style – personal methods	Technical modes of operation of individual potters (adapted from Lechtman, 1977: p. 271)	Locate narratives linked to individual potters to identify cultural salience
Technological style – workshop's approach	Technical modes of operation dictated or encouraged by working conditions in a workshop	Locate narratives linked to working conditions set up by senior potters, to identify cultural salience

Table 3.2 Evaluative parameters used to compile the operational sequence tables and conduct the analysis of salience.

	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
Complexity	Can be undertaken by a novice with simple and clear instructions from others	Requires some exercise over time but potters do not present difficulty in learning it	Requires extensive embodied knowledge and skills learned over a long time
Variation	Same methods used by members of a team	Some variation observed	Distinct methods to conduct operations are observed within teams
Division of labour	All members perform the operation	Some specialisation or temporary assignment to tasks observed	Operation assigned to specific members
Technical malleability	Methods not changed and not likely to change over time	Some changes in methods observed or predicted	Methods can vary relatively easily
Social context	Limited exposure to feedback on processes or qualities in products	Some exposure to feedback, but limited to immediate peers	Processes and aspects of products are visible and may attract feedback
Technological style – personal methods	Standard method, no specific narratives noted	Some narratives linked to personal methods	Operation indicative of key narratives about individual potters
Technological style – workshop's approach	Standard method used in the workshop, not linked to additional narratives	Some narratives linked to a workshop's approach to making	Operation indicative of key narratives about a workshop's approach

Table 3.3 Definition of scoring values used in the analysis of salience.

3.17. They include :

- characteristics commonly used in pottery literature to describe making processes: e.g. use of tools, machinery, division of labour, complexity;
- characteristics highlighted in conversations with the potters and coded in the transcripts: e.g. variation, origins of methods [Appendix C];
- characteristics identified by Gosselain (2000) as central to the analysis of salience: i.e. technical malleability, social context;
- technical measurements based on direct observations, videos or interviews: e.g. duration of each task; and
- other considerations which can discriminate among operations and inform comparisons: e.g. type of activity, action on the materials, type of contact.

Descriptive parameters were measured, observed or discussed with the potters, and include characteristics which summarise key aspects of each operation and its role in the process. Evaluative parameters indicate key aspects of the potters' processes, following the theoretical framework of the study. These were qualitatively assessed based on information produced by all methods during the study. The need to systematically describe each parameter and the visualisation in table format guided the qualitative analysis of the relative salience of each operation, its role in the process and its relationship with qualities and narratives associated with the ware. Iterations in gathering and assessing information led to further refinement of the operational sequences, until these reflected all knowledge of the case study processes gathered during fieldwork, video-analysis and reflection (this is indicated as 'quality control' in the summary diagram in Figure 3.13).

This process produced the first draft of 'operational sequence' tables for the three case studies. The parameters used in the assessment resulted in the categorisation of all operations and effectively led to further review, coding and analysis of all written and visual material. First-hand knowledge of processes contributed to the validation of the analysis of the coding of interview transcripts and other written material. Parameters included quantitative measures (e.g. the duration of an operation), relative ranges (i.e. low, medium or high) and descriptions. The latter were standardised whenever possible, to simplify

Operation	1. Mixing clay	2. Wedging	3. Weighing
Illustration			
Description	Florian mixes the 3 clays, sand and any recycled clay by hand, wedging and kneading. They have a pugmill but they don't use it anymore	He wedges and kneads the clay by hand, spiral or ram head's	The mugs are weighed in grams but generally they use both Imperial and Metric systems. The size of the large mugs is 12 cm by 9 cm, for 460 grams of clay
Duration per mug (s)	43.2	3	5
Duration (info)	4 hours for 150 kg	1 minute for 20 mugs	5
Duration (source)	interview	video	estimate
Timeframe	batch	batch	running
Activity	active	active	active
Action on materials	preparing	preparing	preparing
Contact	hand	hand	machine
Tools	cutting wire	cutting wire	cutting wire
Machinery			scales
State of materials	soft plastic	soft plastic	soft plastic
Role	preparation	preparation	preparation
Feature affected	body	body	body
Complexity	Low	Medium	Low
Origin of methods	Personal response to workshop's instructions	Training history and personal preference	Personal response to workshop's instructions
Variation	Medium	Low	Low
Variation	Some variation due to differences in the recipes for the clay bodies for Florian's own range and Lisa's personal work, but following a similar approach	Florian uses the same method to prepare the clay for all types, even when the composition of the body varies	Florian uses the same method to prepare the clay for all types, even when the composition of the body varies
Division of labour	High	High	High
Division of labour	Task performed mostly by Florian	Task performed mostly by Florian	Florian is in charge of making the mugs
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Medium
Manufacturing salience	The use of a pugmill or preparing by hand does not effect results	This prevents issues but produces no noticeable qualities in the product if done correctly	Electronic scales encourage consistency in the making and final results, visible among pots
Technical malleability	High	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Florian used the pugmill in the past, then switched to wedging by hand. This is likely to change under different conditions in the future	He has been using the same method since high school	Simple operation not likely to change over time for the same typology and material
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Feedback be given on the exact mix of the 4 ingredients, which needs to comply to the requirements. Method of mixing is more flexible	The process is visible to Lisa and performed in the middle of the workshop but does not attract feedback as long as it is carried out correctly	The process is visible to Lisa and performed in the middle of the workshop but does not attract feedback as long as it is carried out correctly
Technological style	Medium	Medium	Medium
Technological style	Personal preference to knead and cut wedge shows inclination to use and develop manual skills	Personal preference to spiral knead the clay, which he taught himself at school	Florian develop a straightforward approach indicative of production pottery, by which he can grab the exact amount of clay but then also weighs it on scales
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	Medium
Workshop's approach	Florian is left to chose how to cut wedge or pug the clay, and judged on results rather than process. Some standardisation is requested but exact methods are left to apprentices to decide	Letting apprentices develop manual skills is part of the educational aims of the pottery	Weights of clay are indicated in grams and electronic scales are used even if Lisa also uses imperial measurements for her work. Some standardisation is requested but exact methods are left to apprentices to decide
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Medium
Additional notes			

Figure 3.17 Extract from the operational sequence analysis of the process of making the Maze Hill Pottery mug, which shows the parameters used in the analysis.

references and enable direct comparisons.

In line with the hermeneutic approach of the study, an initial set of parameters progressively developed into the final list, shaped by the information gathered about the three case studies over time. For example, 'variation' was initially used to comment on the difference observed across the Leach team, and later to describe the similarities between the methods followed by Alun and Caitlin Jenkins at Ewenny. At Maze Hill the focus was primarily on Florian Gadsby's methods and therefore a measure of variation made less sense in that context. This was adapted to note any variation from her master's methods, and between the methods he used for his own mug and the Maze Hill's design. Eventually the assessment of all parameters was standardised to provide direct comparisons across cases [Appendix D].

This process resulted in three operational sequence tables, which provided a first indication of manufacturing and cultural salience for each operation performed in the making of mugs in the workshops, including the distinction between operations associated with a potter's personal methods and aspects linked to a workshop's instructions [as discussed in Section 8.2.6].

3.2.9.8 Combined sequence

The analysis was then finalised by merging key results from the operational sequences into a combined sequence for all three cases. This only indicates key parameters for direct comparison. The collation of the information required further analytical steps. These started with the standardisation of operations into a single sequence which could effectively describe all three processes, despite differences in general procedures, detail of analysis, and order and naming of operations. For example, packing glaze kilns was captured as a single straightforward operation at Ewenny, but required five distinct operations at the Leach and six at Maze Hill. Operations were eventually grouped into 49 equivalent macro-operations across the three cases [Appendix D.2].

Further considerations on salience were produced by observing differences in the way the processes could be described, and especially the focus on some phases in a workshop, and the lack of other operations in another. For example, the individual operational sequences highlighted some salience in the use of pugmills at the Leach and Ewenny,

whereas at Maze Hill the operation was not described as the pugmill was no longer used. By combining the information, not using a pugmill at Maze Hill was considered of some importance, as it could be linked to narratives [Section 7.4.3]. Thus, the collation of the information prompted further reflections, corrections and standardisation of research findings into a single table of categorisation.

The process also led to amendments to all previous material, through a process of quality control based on cross-checking information across various formats and levels of analysis (see Figure 3.13). This resulted in the final process matrices, operational sequences and combined sequence [samples in Appendices B and D]. The combined sequence [Appendix D.2] shows the results of the analysis of salience, which form the core findings of this study and are extensively discussed in Chapter 8.

3.2.9.9 Analytical tables

The systematic analysis of salience also inspired further uses of video analysis and direct comparison of processes, collected in analytical tables [a sample is included in Appendix E]. These provided additional evidence to support some of the findings discussed in Chapter 8. The tables are based on the detailed analysis of video sequences filmed on site, informed by the knowledge of the processes followed by the case studies acquired during the course of the study. The analysis of operations expanded the descriptions shown in the process matrices, by also assessing the use of water and measuring the duration of each task.

3.2.10 Evaluation of research findings

3.2.10.1 Criteria for evaluation

The social constructionist paradigm followed in this study rejects the evaluation of research findings based on notions of reliability and validity, derived from the realist view that "a single account of social reality is feasible" (Bryman, 2008: p.377). In line with the assumptions described in Section 3.1.1.1, the research does not impose singular narratives. Alternative and even irreconcilable interpretations offered by participants are collected alongside and discussed in the light of evidence emerging from the analysis. This aims to provide a rich account of contemporary practices by adding layers of meaning.

However, Bryman also observes that internal validity (i.e. good match between observations

and theories) is a strength of ethnographic studies, due to the prolonged participation of the researcher in the natural settings of the participants observed (ibid).

The primary criteria used for assessing the study were based on the concept of 'trustworthiness', as theorised by Guba and Lincoln (1994 cited in Bryman, 2008: p.377-380). This comprises:

- *credibility* of the accounts: this was achieved through naturalistic interviews, the use of recorded data and word-by-word transcripts. This was enhanced by triangulation and some respondent validation (see the next Sections below);
- *transferability* of findings to other social groups: this was achieved in comparing and discussing findings across the three case studies, and in relation to the practice and literature reviews;
- *dependability*: the transparency and completeness of the data collected was made accessible to others and facilitated by the use of process matrices and the Nvivo software, which allowed immediate cross-checking of all sources used in the study; and
- *confirmability* was ensured by anticipating potential personal bias throughout the research, clearly stating the researcher's views on the subjects discussed and thus producing 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1973) which allow others to make judgements.

3.2.10.2 Respondent validation

Respondent validation was initially planned to inform the evaluation of research findings, as multiple visits to the same potters were anticipated. Some attempts were made to show video collages and other material to the participants, aiming to confirm interpretations of their actions and elicit further information. For example, during the second visit to the Leach Pottery in July 2016, the video collage LP_v01 made in April 2016 was shown to the potters. Despite considerable interest in the video, the viewing prompted some feedback but ultimately failed to provide useful insights or any evaluation of the findings (Research Journal, 18 July 2016). Another attempt at Ewenny on 30th September 2016 produced similar results.

During fieldwork, defensive reactions from participants were never noticed, but some

reluctance to be critical was common. These issues matched those anticipated by Bryman (2008: p.378) and suggested that participant validation conducted in this form was not appropriate for the study. Instead, meaning was defined through systematic analysis of data from multiple sources and case studies. Even when it was possible to validate specific observations with participants (e.g. the discussion about handling with Florian on 10th June 2016), the exchange was not sufficient to evaluate the research overall.

Despite a clear interest in the study from all participants, the experience confirmed Bryman's observation that analysis may not be completely meaningful to participants, as researchers and participants have ultimately different agendas.

3.2.10.3 Triangulation

Research findings were developed and evaluated through triangulation, defined as the use of multiple methods and constant comparison of findings emerging from various sources, data sets and data types (Denzin, 1970: p.310 cited in Bryman, 2008: p.379). The study constructed interpretations of reality by comparing and contrasting evidence from multiple sources to either reach a convergent position or, when this did not occur, present distinct and overlapping interpretations of the findings.

3.2.11 Presentation of findings

3.2.11.1 Formats for the dissemination of research findings

This written thesis is the main vehicle for the dissemination of the research findings. The elicitation of craft knowledge generated in the study allowed for textual analysis of codes and patterns, the construction of theories and the presentation of alternative interpretations of qualities and narratives in the contemporary production of hand-thrown tableware pottery in the UK.

Though the study made extensive use of visual material and physical pots to elicit, discuss and analyse contents, these are not presented as part of the research output. However, stills from videos of processes and interviews are extensively employed to illustrate points made throughout the thesis. The video stills are not mere illustrations of research findings, but testimony of fieldwork and analysis conducted through visual material. Illustrations also include descriptions and photos of the three mug designs produced and collected as part of

the research process.

It should also be noted that unlike the format of the final thesis, videos and pots were extensively used for the disseminations of the emergent research findings during the course of the study in talks, conferences and seminars.

3.2.12 Additional fieldwork

The additional fieldwork conducted in the UK, Ghana and Japan followed the same methods as the case studies: a combination of interviews with participants, photographic surveys and videos of processes. The collection of the data was generally less systematic and only a situated analysis of the material was conducted.

The contribution of the additional research to the study, its extent, and the methods used in each case are presented in Section 4.5.

3.2.13 Methods in practice

The implementation of the research methods can be illustrated by outlining the generation of the findings on the operation of ribbing (i.e. use of 'rib' tools at the wheel) discussed in Section 8.2.3.5. The numbers in the text refer to the key phases highlighted in blue in the summary diagram in Figure 3.18.

The contextual review conducted at the start of the study (1) covered technical literature on all making operations. Ribbing was filmed as part of throwing sessions recorded during the pilot study and initial periods of fieldwork, which informed the first draft process matrices for the case studies (2). This informed the interviews conducted at the Leach Pottery in April 2016. The first round of fieldwork at the Leach produced insights into products and processes, including from reflection by making pots on site. The mugs were unsatisfactory and further practice was conducted at college in May and June 2016 (3), in anticipation to a second period of fieldwork at the pottery in July. The difficulty in matching the design and qualities of the mugs inspired new questions for the potters (4). As discussed in Section 8.2.3.5.2, this highlighted differences within the team in performing the same actions at the wheel and, in particular, Britta Wengeler-James's method of ribbing was singled out. This inspired more direct questions about ribbing across the Leach team, recorded in videos and later transcribed. Similar questions were asked at Ewenny and

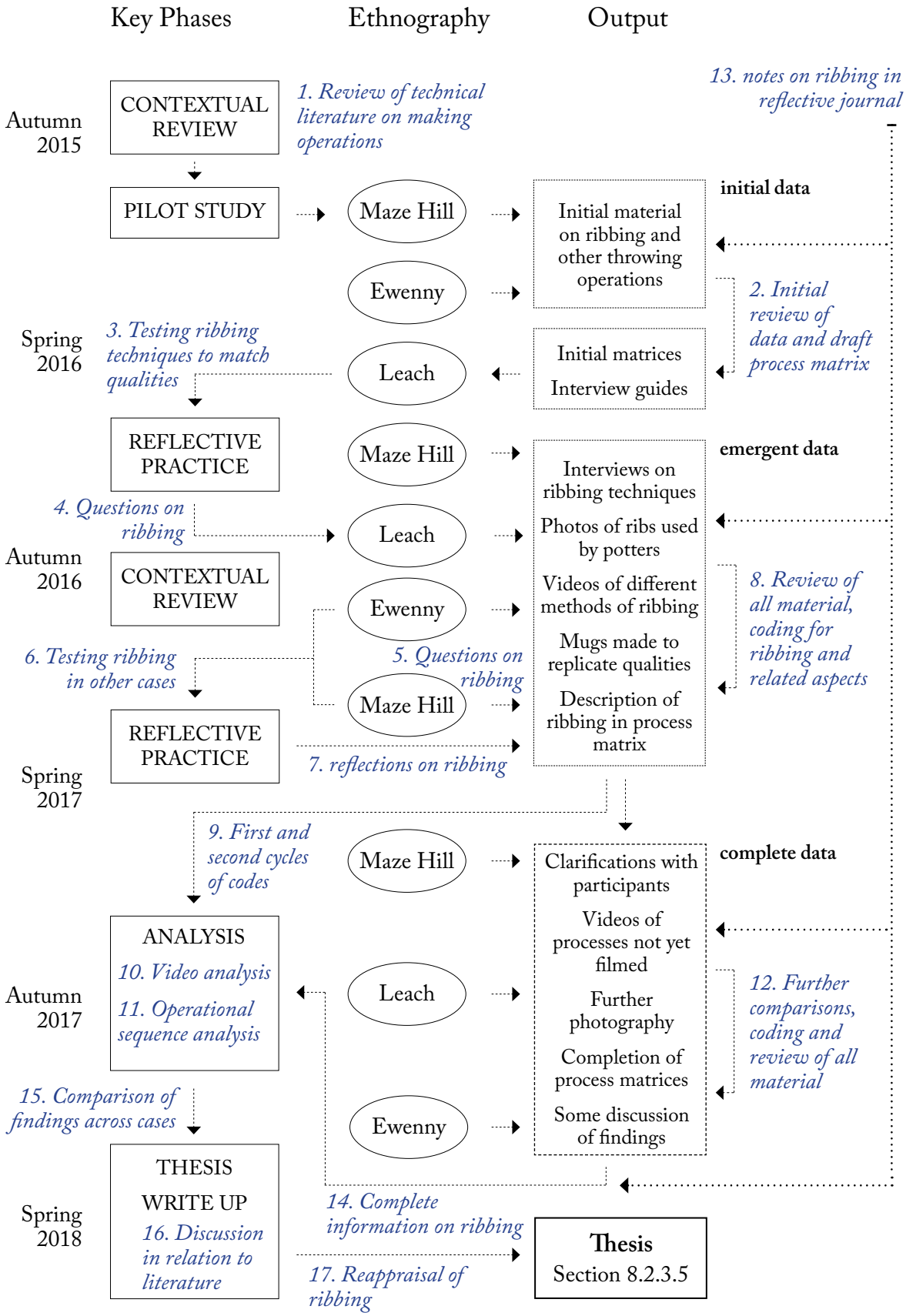

Figure 3.18 Example of methods in practice, showing how the findings on the ribbing techniques were developed during the study.

Maze Hill (5) and the attempts to replicate their mugs (6) prompted further reflections on the different techniques of ribbing observed and experienced across cases (7). The review and coding (8) of all material from the three case studies for references to ribbing and related aspects (e.g. surface qualities, ways of throwing, personal methods, personal tools) produced initial groupings of themes (9) which were correlated with the technological styles of the potters examined through video analysis (10). Assessing all operations based on the same set of parameters located ribbing within the operational sequence (11) and indicated its relative importance in generating qualities and narratives associated with the ware produced in each workshop. At the same time, the completion of fieldwork provided additional insights and confirmation of findings which were also coded (12). All notes from the reflective journal which guided the development of the findings were reviewed (13) alongside the coded material from interviews and reflection (14) to complete the analysis. Combining the operational sequence tables enabled a comparison of ribbing across cases (15) and the generation of a theory based on the triangulation of all methods, which could take account of the differences observed across participants. The role of ribbing in making tableware contrasted with the little attention it attracted in literature (16), and this led to the reappraisal discussed in this thesis (17).

3.3 Conclusions

The analysis of pottery processes presented in this study was produced through a combination of in-depth interviews with practitioners, first-hand experience of making mugs and video analysis. The mixed-method research strategy was developed to fulfil the aims of the research [Section 1.2.1] effectively, with the resources available. The implementation of the methods addressed gaps and biases identified in current literature on contemporary pottery practices [Section 2.3], as summarised in the diagram in Figure 3.19.

The analysis of salience based on the parameters discussed in Section 3.2.9.8, was adapted and expanded from archaeological studies to reflect the context of contemporary British pottery. This provided an original theoretical framework for the analysis of processes which was designed to inform a critical discussion of the case studies (point A).

The focus on professional practice ensures considerations about repeat throwing and batch production which complement more abstract descriptions of methods found in literature

Limitations in literature Section 2.3		Implementation of Research strategy Section 3.3
A. Lack of critical framework	⇢	development of original framework adopting key concepts from archaeological studies
B. Basic descriptions and focus on single products	⇢	analysis of batch production in professional practices
C. Personal stances	⇢	ethnography of case studies to reflect diversity of approaches
D. Focus on consumption, cultural identity or behaviour	⇢	focus on making methods: analysis of co-production of qualities, narratives and processes
E. Scarce historical analysis	⇢	interviews on origins of methods, review of available literature and historical films
F. Theoretical analysis of key phases	⇢	analysis of salience across all operations, which considers the continuity of the process
G. Problem-solving	⇢	ethnography to enable cultural interpretations of contexts in which solutions are performed
H. Emphasis on aesthetics	⇢	elicitation of narratives which affect making processes
I. Designer / maker	⇢	diverse case studies which explore impact of division of labour in pottery production

Figure 3.19 Components of the research strategy designed to address gaps and biases identified in current literature.

(point B). The social constructionist assumption recognises that narratives are generated by the various teams of potters, and uncovered through interaction with the researcher. Interviews and conversations with a diverse group of participants within and across case studies and reflection on their style of making allowed for the collection of alternative approaches and interpretations of methods (point C).

The study shares an interest in cultural narratives associated with objects of material culture studies, but shifts the focus on the production phase in the 'social life' of pots (point D). Similarly, enskillment, cultural identity and social behaviour examined by social scientific studies of making were explored in interviews and reflection but remain contextual, and the focus lies on making processes, qualities in the products and narratives associated with production.

The cultural interpretation of pottery processes lacks a critical and systematic analysis of the history of the techniques employed in the UK today. This was alleviated by a review

of literature and historical films of potters at work, to locate the origins of the potters' methods discussed and observed on site (point E).

Ethnography enabled the analysis of the operations involved in making the case study mugs based on the observation and recording of professional methods and quality control measures. This followed a systematic assessment of parameters designed to reveal the salience of operations independently from the relevance given to 'key' phases in the making in pottery manuals (point F).

The direct exposure to the participants in naturalistic settings, the recording of interviews and processes and subsequent coding and analysis enabled the cultural interpretation of the contexts in which processes were conducted (point G). The emphasis in the study remains on the co-production of qualities, narratives and processes and shifts away from a narrower focus on craftsmanship and aesthetics (point H).

Finally, the choice of case studies comprised participants who designed the ware and others who produce it by following standards and instructions (point I), and under some levels of division of labour. This reflects the diversity of professional practices without an assumed identification of potters with studio practitioners.

The findings of the study presented in Chapters 6 to 8 demonstrate the effectiveness of the research methods in producing an original contribution to the study of British pottery practices [Section 9.1.1].

4. Fieldwork

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the three case studies and other key fieldwork that informed the research. Background information on the Ewenny, Leach and Maze Hill potteries locates the case studies within the contemporary production of British hand-thrown tableware outlined in Section 2.2. The paragraphs below present a brief history of the three potteries and biographical information about the key participants in the study.

The chapter provides context for the ethnographic accounts presented in Chapter 5, and explains references to people, locations and aspects of work mentioned in later chapters.

4.1.1 Selection of case studies

The study was informed by the observation of a total of 13 participants across three case studies, not including those observed, interviewed and filmed as part of the additional fieldwork described in Section 4.5.

Table 4.1 shows a comparison of key characteristics observed across the three potteries. The cases cannot cover the entire landscape but are indicative of some of the main contemporary approaches to the production of British handmade pottery. The workshops vary in location, team size and composition. The teams include potters working in a family business or for a master potter. Their aesthetic styles, materials and firing methods differ considerably, offering the opportunity to discuss a wider range of processes and qualities. Even if some similarities in approaches exist between the Leach and Maze Hill workshops, firing methods and other differences dictate alternative sequences of operations which result in their distinct qualities.

	EWENNY	LEACH	MAZE HILL
Pottery type	Country pottery	Production pottery	Studio pottery
Tradition	Local	Oriental (Leach)	Oriental/studio
Tableware design	Traditional range plus new products in same style	New range in line with the pottery's tradition	Well-established personal range
Training history	Apprenticeships and formal education	Varies	Apprenticeships and formal education
Training offered	None	Two apprenticeships, one volunteer and one paid position	One apprenticeship and a part-time paid position (for teaching)
Style	Slipware and splash glaze	Oriental Leach	Japanese-influenced soda fired
Team size	3	7	2 full-time, 1 part-time
Roles	Production potters + assistant	Lead potter, production potters, volunteers and apprentices	Master potter and apprentices
Division of labour	Equal between throwers	Rotation, assigned by lead potter	Apprentice makes simpler range
Clay	Earthenware	Stoneware, porcelain	Stoneware
Firing	Electric	Reduction gas	Soda gas
Wheels	1950's belt type	Electric and kick wheels	Electric
Type of business	Family business	Business linked to registered charity	Individual artist potter (also founder of pottery charity)
Location	Wales	Cornwall	London

Table 4.1 Characteristics of the pottery workshops selected as case studies.

4.2 Ewenny Pottery

4.2.1 The history of Ewenny Pottery

The history of Ewenny Pottery is described in J. M. Lewis's *The Ewenny Potteries* (1982) and summarised on the pottery's website (Ewenny Pottery, 2017). Ewenny is described by the potters as 'the oldest established pottery in Wales' and it is the only traditional pottery surviving of over a dozen that existed in the local area (Lewis, 1982: p.2). Alun and Caitlin Jenkins are the 7th and 8th generation potters of what Jeffrey Jones suspects "must be the longest lasting pottery dynasty in Britain" (2000). Jayne Jenkins assists her husband and daughter in many tasks and helps run the shop. The pots produced at Ewenny today directly reference the historical ranges made by the potters' ancestors, and old methods were observed and discussed during fieldwork [Section 7.2.1].

There has been a pottery on site since the 15th century (Lewis, 1982: p.42) and according to family tradition the Jenkins started at Ewenny in 1815. Clay for making pots, limestone for building kilns, coal for firing, galena and other ores for making glazes were all available locally (ibid: p.1).

The primary output at the time consisted of pots for the kitchen and for agricultural use, as well as commissions such as the characteristic puzzle jugs and wassail bowls. The 19th century pottery is recognisable as Ewenny (Figure 4.1) but also bears strong resemblances with Staffordshire (ibid: p.2) and North Devon pottery production, especially at Fremington and Barnstaple. It was common for potters to travel to find work, and Ewenny employed many artisans from Bristol, although the primary language in the workshop was Welsh. A 'potter' knew how to throw in large quantities, unlike a 'fettler' or a 'handler' (ibid: p.8)[1].

As taste evolved and the industrial revolution continued to transform markets and technologies, Ewenny became to be appreciated by Horace Elliott, a designer from London associated with the Arts & Crafts movement. He started to visit the pottery in 1883 and over a period of over 30 years made numerous visits to the village and designed many

1 Jayne Jenkins continues to refer to Alun and Caitlin as 'the potters' and doesn't consider herself to be one, despite having worked in the pottery for over 40 years.

Figure 4.1 Examples of 19th century Ewenny ware, including an old version of the money box (right), (photos: www.ewennypottery.com, accessed 23/10/2016).

Figure 4.2 The old kiln at Ewenny was dismantled and moved to National Museum of Wales in St. Fagans in 1980 (photo: ewennypottery.com, accessed 29/5/18).

Figure 4.3 Tiles reproduced by Caitlin Jenkins for a commission (photo: 4 Mar 2016).

characteristic pots and sculptures which are highly collectable today (ibid: p.28).

The pottery passed on from Edwin John Jenkins to David John Jenkins in 1922. During World War II the elderly David John worked alone in the pottery, which was later re-established after the war by his sons Thomas Arthur (Arthur) and David (Dai) Jenkins. When they retired in 1969, the pottery was threatened to close and part of the property was sold (Figure 4.2). In 1970, Arthur's son Alun took over the business from his father and uncle and re-established the pottery, first in his garage and then in 1977 in a new building on the same site (Lewis, 1982: p.8). This is the workshop building visitors can see today.

4.2.2 The workshop building

The Ewenny Pottery building today consists of a large rectangular space of which the front half is open to visitors and operates as a shop. A smaller room connects the main space with the front garden of the Jenkins family home and acts as a private access to the workshop. Outside, the earthenware clay deposit responsible for the village's numerous potteries over the centuries, now exhausted, was turned into a car park in the 1950s (Figure 4.4).

Customers entering the front door are invited to browse the range of pottery on display while watching the potters at work. A low fence divides the shop from the workshop (Figure 4.5). The potters offer constant demonstrations of their skills to visitors and interrupt their work every time a purchase is made.

Ewenny Pottery is a family-based business rooted in the local community. Pots are mostly sold to visitors on site, as well as in a small number of historical sites in Wales.

4.2.3 About the potters

4.2.3.1 Alun Jenkins

Alun[2] (Figure 4.7) was trained as a potter in the family workshop run by his father and uncle. By the time he enrolled on the ceramic course at Cardiff in the late 1960s he was already a proficient thrower and was let to "get on with it" by his teachers. At Cardiff, Alun learned much about glazes from Alan Barrett-Danes and did his dissertation on lustre ware

2 After being introduced in this chapter, the participants are referred to by their first name only throughout the thesis.

Figure 4.4 The current Ewenny Pottery building (photo: 30 Sept 2016).

Figure 4.5 The workshop space at Ewenny as seen from the shop area (photo: 24 Feb 2016).

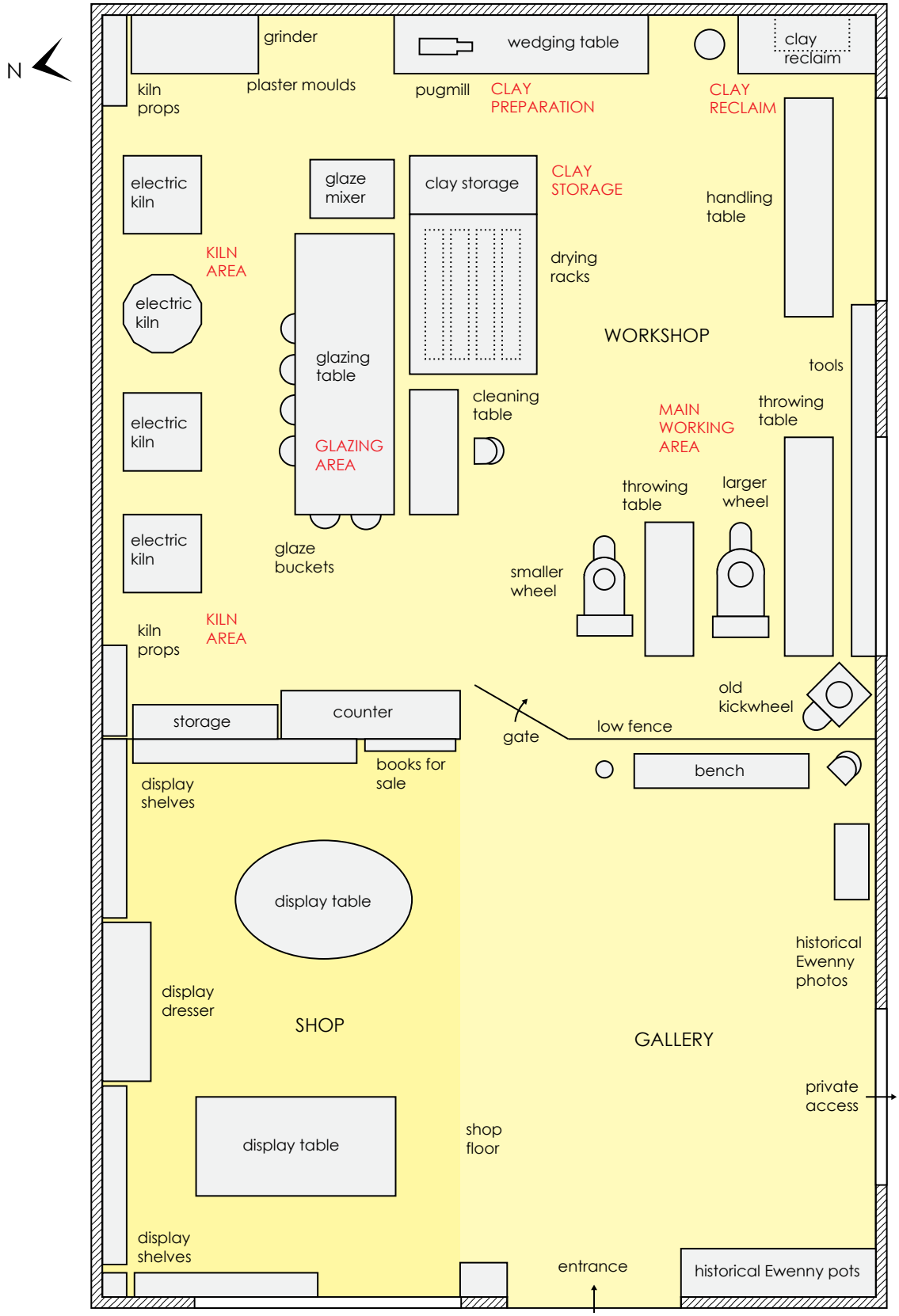

Figure 4.6 Indicative layout of the Ewenny Pottery building, showing the division between the gallery/shop and the working areas.

Figure 4.7 Alun Jenkins (photo: 1 Oct 2016).

Figure 4.8 Caitlin Jenkins (photo: 3 Mar 2016).

Figure 4.9 Jayne Jenkins (photo: 4 Mar 2016).

Figure 4.10 Personal work made by Caitlin Jenkins (photo: www.caitlinjenkins.com, accessed 28/5/2018).

Figure 4.11 Slipware jugs with sgraffito inscriptions (photo: 3 Mar 2016).

Figure 4.12 Tableware for sale in the Ewenny shop (photo: 4 Mar 2016).

(EP09). He would later use his knowledge to completely replace the old lead glazes used in the workshop with new food safe recipes and harder glazes, maintaining as much as possible the style of the historical surfaces. He remains fond of lustre effects on old Ewenny pottery.

4.2.3.2 Caitlin Jenkins

Caitlin (Figure 4.8) also learned her craft as a teenager growing up in the family workshop and knew how to throw by the time she studied at Cardiff in the late 1990s. After college she briefly worked in the family business, before travelling to New Zealand in 1999. There she worked for Alan Rhodes and Madeleine Child, and as a visiting lecturer at the Otago University. In 2001, she followed a friend's suggestion and enrolled on a Master's course at the Royal College of Art (RCA), where she developed a range of personal work which diverged from the family tradition (Figure 4.10). Soon after the RCA, she settled in Ewenny again and started working with her parents, helping them to develop the business and introducing new products over the years (EP08).

4.2.3.3 Jayne Jenkins

Jayne (Figure 4.9) does not consider herself a 'potter' and does not know how to throw, but has been a fundamental member of the pottery since Alun took over the business in 1970. She used to complement Alun in all necessary tasks, including applying transfers, glazing pots, and loading and unloading the kilns. She continues to sign all pots with the characteristic 'Ewenny Pottery Wales' cursive mark. She also cleans all pots before they turn dry, manages the shop and assists 'the potters' with any other tasks.

4.2.4 The fieldwork conducted at Ewenny

Four visits to the pottery were made between February 2016 and January 2018, with most fieldwork undertaken between February and October 2016. The initial visits consolidated the methods of data collection and interviewing which were later employed throughout the study. The full participation of the potters meant it was possible to film, observe and interview all members of the family while at work and during breaks. The data collection at Ewenny Pottery eventually comprised 21 focused conversations with the potters in addition to videos of processes, recorded over a total of 66 video files. The conversations mapped the operational sequence required to make the Ewenny straight mug, as well as other

Figure 4.13 Difficulties in achieving the desired quality for the foot of Ewenny mugs (photo: 18 Nov 2016).

Figure 4.14 Repeated attempts to match size and quality of mug cylinders (photo: 20 July 2017).

Figure 4.15 Centring the mug by pressing down the clay without coning (photo: 11 July 2017).

Figure 4.16 Creating a 'lip' by pulling out the rim with the sponge only (photo: 11 Oct 2017).

Figure 4.17 Attempts to reproduce the Ewenny mug off site to inspire reflections on the process (photo: 11 Oct 2017).

Figure 4.18 Reproduction of the Ewenny mug compared with an original bisque made by the Jenkins (photo: 11 Oct 2017).

characteristic operations and approaches to making, historical information and biographies.

A full list of interviews and videos of processes made at Ewenny is shown on page 415. The ethnographic account in Section 5.2 describes the atmosphere in the pottery and the tasks observed on a typical day on site.

4.2.5 Making the Ewenny mugs

As described in Section 3.2.7.1, attempts to make the medium straight Ewenny mug were conducted to produce further reflections on the processes learned on site and test the potters' exact methods of throwing by following the videos captured during fieldwork. Despite their welcoming attitude and full collaboration, participating in the making of pots on site as a pottery student would have likely compromised the working schedule of a professional workshop run by master potters. Reflection on the processes observed and filmed at Ewenny were conducted off-site between and after the visits, and focused on throwing and handling mugs (see Figures on page 166). As in the other cases, the findings from these exercises are discussed throughout the thesis, and especially informed the description of qualities of Ewenny ware in Section 6.2 and that of making operations in Chapter 8.

Repeated observation of videos of processes was crucial for understanding and reproducing the potters' actions, often too brief and complex to be fully captured via observation alone. Ewenny ware differs considerably from the tableware made in the other two workshops, in their use of earthenware rather than stoneware and also in the economical approach honed by the potters over many years of experience [Section 7.2.3]. Their method of centring clay (Figure 4.15), shaping the rim with the sole use of the sponge (Figure 4.16), adding a foot by creating a groove at the base of the cylinder and pulling a handle of round section were particularly distinct from more common studio pottery methods.

As per the mugs produced at imitation of the other two workshops, the results were unconvincing and did not fully compare with the ware produced in the workshop (Figure 4.18). However the process of 'making in the manner of' the Ewenny potters produced important insights which were collected in the research journal. These guided the data collection and conversations with the potters on site, as well as the interpretation of their work during the analysis of all material.

4.3 Leach Pottery

4.3.1 The history of the Leach Pottery

The Leach Pottery played an important role in the British studio pottery movement in the 20th century (Cooper, 2003: p.xi; Jones, 1999: p.165). The works and writings of Bernard Leach are still used today to verbalise concepts and beliefs about pottery in conversations and publications (e.g. Jones, 2007; McErlain, 2002).

In 1920, Bernard Leach founded the Leach Pottery in St. Ives, Cornwall, with the help of Japanese potter Shoji Hamada (Cooper, 2003: p.142). The kiln was rebuilt in 1923 with the help of another Japanese potter, Matsubayashi, and it is believed to be the first Japanese-style climbing kiln ever to be built in Europe (Tyas, 2014: p.210; Minogue and Sanderson, 2000: p.74). Leach and Hamada would become major figures in the British studio movement and inspire generations of potters (Figure 4.19). Bernard's skills as maker and writer enabled him to play an active role in promoting his craft (De Waal, 1997: p.6). His *A Potter's Book* (1978), originally published in 1940, became a key text for many pottery amateurs and practitioners, especially in the 1960s and 70s (De Waal, 1997; Cooper, 2003).

Many major figures in 20th century British ceramics were trained at the pottery or by former apprentices. Leach was an artist potter who created much-treasured one-off pieces but he also ran a workshop producing functional everyday tableware, called 'standard ware' (Figure 4.20 and Figure 4.22). The range was at its most popular in the post-war years (Tyas, 2014: p.323) and was characterised by the rustic look of English tableware but with a refinement of form and use of ash glazes which indicated an oriental influence [Section 6.3.2.1].

Janet Leach ran the pottery for almost 20 years, since Bernard's death in 1979 (Cooper, 2003: p.366). William (Bill) Marshall was instrumental in running the pottery and bridging generations, transferring old skills and teaching a great number of Leach apprentices (Figure 4.21). The current Honorary Lead Potter John Bedding worked at the Leach in 1960s and continues to be involved. He helped develop the new range of standard ware with the team (Leach Pottery, 2017), alongside making his own range of ceramics and running Gaolyard studios (LP86).

The 1980s and 1990s saw a decline in popularity. The pottery and museum continued to be active after Janet's death in 1997, but the private collection was sold at auction and the buildings required urgent attention (Cooper, 2006: p.143). In 2003 a call was made on *Ceramic Review* magazine to the national and international ceramic community to make the space available to a wider audience. After a successful campaign and extensive refurbishment, the old pottery was reopened to the public in 2008 as the Leach Pottery Museum and Gallery (Lambley, 2013: p.28).

4.3.1.1 The workshop under Jack Doherty

The current production workshop shares the grounds of the historical pottery building. The new working studios for aspiring potters were initially set up in 2008 under master potter Jack Doherty's supervision. Doherty is a renowned potter who has exhibited extensively nationally and abroad, and has covered many prestigious roles in British ceramic institutions. He served two terms as Chairman of the Craft Potters Association[3] and has been Director of both Ceramic Review magazine and Contemporary Ceramics for more than 13 years. He is currently Chairman of Ceramic Arts London[4].

At the Leach Pottery, he developed a successful range of soda fired tableware which was produced by apprentices and volunteers, including Michel Francois, Ella Phillips and Jacob Bodilly. Doherty left his post at the Leach in 2013 to set up a new studio in Mousehole, Cornwall, where he could focus on his solo career (LP110). Of the current Leach team, only Kat Wheeler and Britta Wengeler-James worked with Doherty.

4.3.1.2 Roelof Uys

The South African born potter Roelof Uys took over the workshop in 2014 (LP68). After dropping out of art school he worked as a studio potter, whilst trying to establish himself as a painter. In 1998 Roelof moved to the UK and worked as a production thrower of flower pots at Four Seasons Pottery in North London. Speed and efficiency were an essential component of production there, but the business struggled to compete with cheaper imports and more established British potteries producing similar ware, such as Whichford.

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3 www.onlineceramics.com/product-category/artists/jack-doherty/, accessed 10/10/2017.

4 www.newcraftsmanstives.com/index.php?location=artist&artist=4890, accessed 10/10/2017.

Figure 4.19 Bernard Leach with Shoji Hamada & Soestsu Yanagi, Dartington 1952 (https://www.leachpottery.com/history/ , accessed 8/10/2017).

Figure 4.20 Still from The Rock of St Ives, BBC Two England, 7 Sept 1982 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L3xhkPudrcU, accessed 8/10/2017, cropped). Bernard Leach is seen making a jug very similar in character and form to the ones currently produced.

Figure 4.21 Pots by Bill Marshall (photo: Matt Tyas, www.matthewtyas.co.uk/2016/william-marshall-book, accessed 8/10/2017).

Figure 4.22 Bernard Leach inspecting the Leach Pottery's standard ware, St Ives, 1966. (photo: Watson, 1997: p.156 [cropped]).

Figure 4.23 Cups and mugs from the Leach Pottery range designed by Jack Doherty and produced until 2014 (www.newcraftsmanstives.com, accessed 8/10/2017).

He moved to St. Ives in 1998 and worked for 15 years as a studio potter at Gaolyard Studios (LP68), where John Bedding had built a ceramic community by offering affordable spaces and links to his gallery. Roelof found it an ideal environment to start a career in the UK, for someone like himself who had "just come here with a bag to start making pots" (Frears, 2009: p.28). In addition to exhibiting in galleries, he sold his work in his wife Melanie's gallery in St. Ives[5].

Jack Doherty's range for the Leach was critically acclaimed and sold well[6], but only produced in relatively small quantities. Kat Wheeler and Britta Wengeler-James were in charge of making most of the ware, but they considered the production model unsatisfactory. The potters were self-employed and paid on a piecemeal basis (LP25; LP70; LP87). At the time, the Bernard Leach (St Ives) Trust Limited (i.e. the "Leach Trust") was looking for ways to make the workshop financially independent and generate more revenue for the museum. Roelof proposed a business plan which was more in line with production pottery models than those of individual artists' studios (LP87).

He initially continued to produce Doherty's range and eventually redesigned all standard ware. The laborious soda firings were replaced by ash glazes reminiscent of Leach's old range, fired 'in reduction' in gas kilns. The aspiration for the pottery shifted from a supervised studio-share model to a profitable production pottery providing stock for the shop on site, and retailers at national and international level (LP87). Alongside its commercial setup, the current site is intended as a learning environment for aspiring potters (LP34), in the tradition of the historical workshop. The objectives stated by the Leach Trust include:

> *"to train people in the art, craft and manufacture of pottery and related skills and increase the appreciation of the public in the ceramic arts" (Leach Pottery, 2017).*

4.3.2 The workshop buildings

The current workshop occupies an oblong shed built for the museum reopening in 2008, between the historical building which now hosts the gallery and shop (Figure 4.24), and the water stream at the back of the property (Figure 4.27). The workshop is accessed from

5 The gallery closed in 2017.

6 In autumn 2017 Jack Doherty started producing a revised version of the range he designed for Leach, driven by continuing demand for the ware (LP110).

Figure 4.24 The Leach Pottery gallery. The workshop is located in a shed behind the historical building (photo: 15 Apr 2016).

Figure 4.25 The kiln shed as seen from the car park (photo: 27 Apr 2016).

Figure 4.26 Members of the Leach team at their respective wheels in the main working area (photo: 13 Apr 2016).

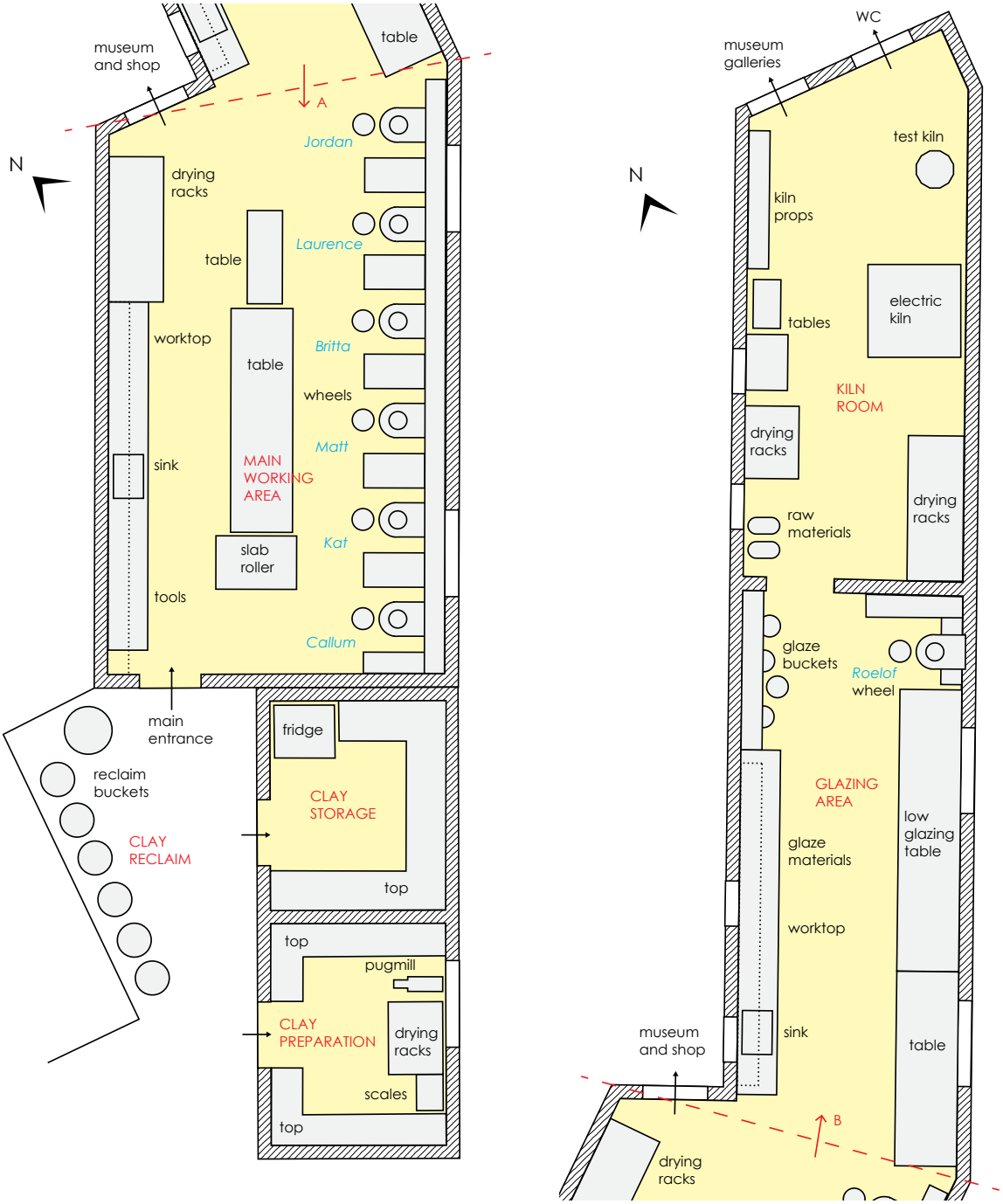

Figure 4.27 Indicative layout of the Leach workshop (top). The photos show the view from the middle of the room, towards the main entrance (A, left) or kiln room (B, right).

the car park and is not open to the public, but visitors to the museum can have a brief look through a door as they move through the courtyard and towards the shop. Clay is stored and prepared on two small adjacent sheds located between the main workshop room and the car park. On the other side, the kiln shed is occupied by a large, a medium and a small gas kilns. Other sheds are used as woodwork workshops, and storage for excess stock.

Overall, the workshop unfolds linearly and presents various working environments and storage spaces. This results in a flow of potters and pots constantly moving among them during a working day. The space offers three distinct climatic conditions for storing pots and materials: the kiln room is warm and used for fast drying, the workshop is generally mild, and the outside sheds are cold or warm depending on the season.

4.3.3 About the potters

Roelof Uys is the Lead Potter and Studio Manager (Figure 4.28) and supervises a team of six potters at various stages of proficiency. This typically comprises two permanent production potters employed by the pottery, two official apprentices on a bursary sponsored by Cornish company Seasalt, and two volunteers who receive a small stipend. In addition to Roelof, during the fieldwork the team was comprised of the potters listed below.

4.3.3.1 Kat Wheeler

Kat worked as Production Potter and Deputy Studio Manager (Figure 4.29). She is from North Carolina and studied ceramics at the Appalachian Centre for Crafts, Tennessee. She worked for potter Peter Rose for three years before receiving a grant and moving to the UK. She initially met Jack Doherty during a six-month semester at the Australian National University and soon joined him at the Leach (LP25). In 2015 she spent 10 weeks at Tomoo Hamada's pottery in Mashiko, Japan, as part of her PhD research in ceramics, which she then suspended. Alongside her work at the Leach, in 2017 she started producing a more consistent range of personal tableware at Gaolyard's Studios in St. Ives, which is also sold through the Leach Pottery's shop and website.

As a senior potter in the workshop, Kat provided useful insights into the design and making of the standard ware range, including practical demonstrations. Her experience as a maker and teacher of pottery also meant she could clearly articulate some of the techniques followed by herself and the team.

4.3.3.2 Britta Wengeler-James

Britta is a Production Potter on a part-time contract (Figure 4.30). She is the longest-lasting member of the Leach production team and worked under Jack Doherty alongside Kat. She runs the more technical and theoretical exercises for apprentices. She is originally from Germany, where she completed an apprenticeship with master potter Clemens Wirth. She later travelled for three years, working in potteries first in France and then New Zealand, with Petra Meyboden. There, she was introduced to roulette decoration techniques, which she continued to use on her personal range and on the large jugs she was making as part of the Leach standard ware range in 2016.

Britta provided much technical guidance, especially on handling, and insights into processes.

4.3.3.3 Callum Trudgeon

Callum has a background in carpentry and started at the Leach in 2014 as the first Seasalt apprentice (Figure 4.31). He continues to work on the standard ware as a production potter, and he is developing a personal range of work which is sold in the shop on site.

Callum discussed his apprenticeship and the teaching methods used at the Leach. He also provided instructions on the glazing processes for the standard ware, which he led alongside Roelof.

4.3.3.4 Matt Foster

Matt joined the Leach in 2015 as the second Seasalt apprentice (Figure 4.32) and in April 2016 he was the most recent member of staff. Matt had previously studied Fine Art at Kent University and worked as a chef, and had no knowledge of ceramics before joining the workshop. At the start of the fieldwork he had spent only six months at the pottery and was still acquiring basic skills, as well as being in charge of humble tasks, such as reclaiming clay. He is currently developing his own range of tableware, which he decorates with brushwork influenced by oriental decorative patterns and aesthetics.

Matt provided further insights into the teaching and learning processes carried out in the workshop. The progress in Matt's throwing and handling skills is discussed in Section 7.3.1 [full analysis in Appendix E.1].

Figure 4.28 Roelof Uys (photo: 27 Apr 2016).

Figure 4.29 Kat Wheeler (photo: 26 July 2016).

Figure 4.30 Britta Wengeler-James (photo: 28 Apr 2016).

Figure 4.31 Callum Trudgeon (photo: 27 Apr 2016).

Figure 4.32 Matt Foster (photo: 28 Apr 2016).

Figure 4.33 Laurence Eastwood (photo: 28 Apr 2016).

4.3.3.5 Laurence Eastwood

Laurence was a volunteer in April 2016 and later joined the team as Production Potter (Figure 4.33). He started working with clay in his early teens, when he received throwing classes from Phil Cook in exchange for reclaiming clay for the Upwey Potters in Dorset (LP98). He is a proficient thrower and at the Leach he acquired more consistent production techniques and learned design considerations. He enjoys throwing on the old Leach kick-wheels in the museum, where he often entertains visitors with demonstrations. In 2017 he briefly worked with earthenware potters Douglas Fitch and Hannah McAndrew in Scotland. Alongside the Leach standard ware, he makes a varied and ever-evolving personal range of functional ware which is also sold in the Leach shop.

Laurence provided many descriptions and reflections on making processes, and demonstrations on electric and kick wheels.

4.3.3.6 Jordan Scott

Jordan is a Canadian potter who studied at the Sheridan Institute of Craft and Design in Ontario (Figure 4.34). In April 2016, he was on his last month of volunteering work at St. Ives. He had previous experience working in Korean potteries and assisting Phil Rogers in his workshop in Wales. Jordan's work is primarily functional but he also produces larger and more sculptural vessels inspired by the Korean and other traditions.

Jordan shared his outsider's views on the processes followed at the Leach, and the ways in which they were communicated to him when he joined the team. He also gave demonstrations on how to throw Leach mug cylinders and pull handles.

4.3.3.7 Lexie McLeod

Lexie was a volunteer for two terms in 2016 and 2017 (Figure 4.35). She studied 3D Design at the Gray School of Art in Aberdeen. She had some experience in pottery, having assisted Barbel Dister in her studio in Cromarty and Andrew Appleby at the Harray Pottery in Orkney (LP77). After the experience at the Leach, she worked as a production thrower in Norway.

Working with Lexie offered further opportunities to observe the tasks assigned to junior members of staff, e.g. throwing egg cups and small mugs, and reclaiming clay.

Figure 4.34 Jordan Scott (photo: 28 Apr 2016).

Figure 4.35 Lexie McLeod (photo: 22 July 2016).

Figure 4.36 The researcher (left) with the Leach team in April 2016, from left: Kat Wheeler, Laurence Eastwood, Roelof Uys, Jordan Scott, Callum Trudgeon, Britta Wengeler-James and Matt Foster (photo: 28 Apr 2016).

Figure 4.37 Examples of porcelain and stoneware standard ware by the Leach Pottery (photo: 25 July 2016).

Figure 4.38 A kiln load of mugs and bowls produced for a special commission for the company Seasalt (photo: 14 Apr 2016).

4.3.4 The fieldwork conducted at the Leach

The Leach Pottery was a candidate for the study from the start, due to its historical importance in the studio pottery movement, the study's focus on the origins of techniques used by British potters, and the workshop's team size and production model.

The opportunity to spend a 5-week work placement making the standard ware mugs and learning from all potters provided invaluable information and experience, which played a major role in the research. The size of the team and the educational mission of the institution created an environment in which processes could be described, demonstrated and discussed extensively. The potters' availability to be filmed meant much information could be gathered efficiently. The wider facilities on site, such as the library and research room, and access to the museum collection and commercial gallery helped learn different aspects of potters' work in context, and offered multiple perspectives, e.g. from curators, museum volunteers and shop staff.

A total of 110 focused interviews and conversations were collected on site, in addition to videos of processes, all recorded over 250 video files. This provided an intimate depiction of the potters' work which went beyond the scope of this study. A full list of interviews and videos of processes made at the Leach Pottery is shown on page 415 and an account of a typical day on site is provided in Section 5.3.

4.3.5 Making the Leach mug

The work experience at the pottery comprised the opportunity to make the Leach mug on site, guided by the team and using the same materials and equipment as the original range.

A first batch was produced during the visit in April 2016, to familiarise with the process and make the first attempts to embody methods and reproduce qualities (see Figures on page 180). The results were unsatisfactory both in terms of form and qualities, but the exercise showed the role the materials used at the Leach played in alleviating variation in output (Figure 4.43). This was followed by further experimentation off-site, in preparation for a second round of fieldwork in July 2016. The experience demonstrated the precision involved in achieving the desired design with 400g of clay. Any imprecision in weighing or any waste during throwing would result in issues, and any clay left at the bottom would

Figure 4.39 The original green ware mug made by the Leach potters, which was used as a reference (photo: 15 Apr 2016).

Figure 4.40 First attempts to reproduce the Leach mug's cylinder and handle (photo: 21 Apr 2016).

Figure 4.41 Learning to use the bamboo tool to cut the bevel at the right angle and depth (photo: 21 July 2016).

Figure 4.42 Practicing the use of the bamboo tool as a rib while throwing on the kick-wheels in the museum (photo: 22 Apr 2016).

Figure 4.43 Mugs from the first batch made 'in the manner of' the Leach potters on site (photo: 29 Apr 2016).

Figure 4.44 Mugs from the second and final batch made 'in the manner of' the Leach potters on site (photo: 29 Apr 2016).

be missing at the top (Research Journal, 3 June 2016). Among other observations, this showed the appropriateness of the design to train potters and refine their skills. The second batch of mugs made on site showed considerable improvements (Figure 4.42) and provided further insights on techniques. Feedback was received on both products and processes from multiple potters. Much information was collected on handling, which showed the complexity of the operations involved.

4.4 Maze Hill Pottery

The third case study focuses on the production of mugs and other simple typologies by Florian Gadsby at Lisa Hammond's Maze Hill Pottery, London. Background information is provided about Lisa's work to explain Florian's role at the pottery and differences between their approaches. Lisa and her previous apprentice, Darren Ellis, also based at Maze Hill, have also generously contributed to the study.

4.4.1 Lisa Hammond and Maze Hill Pottery

Lisa Hammond MBE is a renowned British studio potter and teacher (Figure 4.49). She studied studio pottery at Medway College in the late 70s, where she was introduced to salt firings by Ian Gregory (Clegg, 2006: p.24). She opened her first workshop in Greenwich in 1980. She taught ceramics at Goldsmith College for 13 years, where alongside students and staff she pioneered the firing of pottery with soda in the UK (Hammond, 2017; Clegg, 2006: p.24).

Following the closure of the ceramic department at the college, she founded Maze Hill Pottery in 1994 in a disused railway ticket office, adjacent to the current Maze Hill station (Goldmark Gallery, 2012d). At Maze Hill, Lisa developed a wide range of functional ware for preparing, cooking and serving food. She is keen to point out "it is immensely important to me that this work is used in daily life" (Hammond, 2017). Alongside her functional range she also creates a personal, more "individual and playful" range of work (ibid). This range is also largely functional and influenced by her experiences in Japan.

Between 2009 and 2012 she set up the new Kigbeare Studio Pottery workshops in Devon, where the facilities enabled her to run more extensive workshops and masterclasses with national and international potters (ibid). She was assisted by her apprentice Darren Ellis,

who returned to London with her in August 2012 (Sutherland, 2013: p.24). Since then, Elvira Brown and later Florian Gadsby completed long-term apprenticeships with her at Maze Hill in 2014 and 2017 respectively. In summer 2017, the current apprentice Dominic Upson started his term at Maze Hill.

Lisa has exhibited extensively in the UK and Japan and was the subject of a documentary by the Goldmark Gallery (Goldmark Gallery, 2012d). She was resident potter in Mashiko in April 2015 (Herdman, 2015: p.42) and visited Japan again in October 2017. Her work is often featured in *Ceramic Review* and publications on pottery. Lisa is a Fellow of the Craft Potters Association and an ambassador for the teaching of studio pottery in the UK. She is the founder and chair of the charity Adopt a Potter and a founder and trustee of the newly established Clay College Stoke, where she also teaches.

In summer 2016 she was awarded an MBE for services to Ceramics and Preservation of Craft Skills.

4.4.2 The workshop building

The pottery consists of the old ticket office building and its courtyard (Figures on page 184), which Lisa had dug up to make space for the kilns (Goldmark Gallery, 2012d). Visitors entering the pottery encounter a busy open space occupied by an L-shaped desk and much furniture (Figure 4.48). Two walls on either side create exhibition areas which house a selection of pots for sale, including seconds. There is a storage room but all the walls in the pottery are covered in shelves storing pots and equipment, including in the courtyard. Lisa's wheel is to the right from the entrance, by a window, whereas Florian's and Darren's wheels are behind a wall on the left, next to the electric kiln. The room hosts evening classes three times a week, so that constant cleaning and moving of pots at different stages is required at all time.

Outside, more pots and larger equipment are stored. There are three kilns: a small gas kiln used by Florian and Darren for their own work, a medium-size and a large trolley kilns used for soda firing. The soda kilns were built by the potters and are protected by a roof, surrounded by more shelves, bags of clay, kiln props and furniture.

4.4.3 About the potters

4.4.3.1 Florian Gadsby

Florian (Figure 4.50) started working with clay at an early age, at a Rudolf Steiner School in London (Gadsby, 2018). In 2012 he enrolled on a two-year intensive course at the DCCoI Ceramics Skills and Design Training Course in Thomastown, Ireland, where he acquired the fundamental skills and expertise to work as a studio potter. Upon completion, he was awarded 'Student of the Course' (Gadsby, 2018).

Lisa Hammond was one of the visiting lecturers in Thomastown. Florian later applied for a position at Maze Hill responding to an open call for an apprentice published on *Ceramic Review* magazine (MH03). At the time he was a relatively proficient production thrower and was already making the range of tableware and other functional pottery which he would later refine at Maze Hill.

Between 2014 and 2017 he assisted Lisa in all tasks required to run the workshop, including the teaching of weekly evening classes to students. At the start of his apprenticeship he started an Instagram[7] account to document his experiences (Gadsby, 2018), which grew in popularity to over 160 thousand followers, as of May 2018. His social media presence has become part of his practice, and enables him to sell his entire kiln content online in a matter of minutes.

Florian sells to customers directly but has collaborated with retailers and other makers (Park, 2016). In 2016 he sold his personal work at Maze Hill open studios. After his apprenticeship formally ended in summer 2016, he continued to work as Lisa's part-time assistant. In his last year at Maze Hill, he had more time to develop his personal work and continued to teach evening classes (MH18).

In October 2017, Florian travelled to Japan to undertake a 6-month apprenticeship with potter Ken Matsuzaki in Mashiko.

4.4.3.2 Darren Ellis

Darren (Figure 4.51) studied ceramics at Wolverhampton University and was later

7 At the start of fieldwork at Maze Hill in February 2016, Florian had 50 thousand followers. Their number tripled in just over a year.

Figure 4.45 The main room at Maze Hill pottery (photo: 17 June 2016).

Figure 4.46 The outdoors area at Maze Hill, covered with shelves to store pots and equipment (photo: 17 June 2016).

Figure 4.47 The kiln area at Maze Hill as seen from the area adjacent the railway lines (photo: 18 Feb 2016).

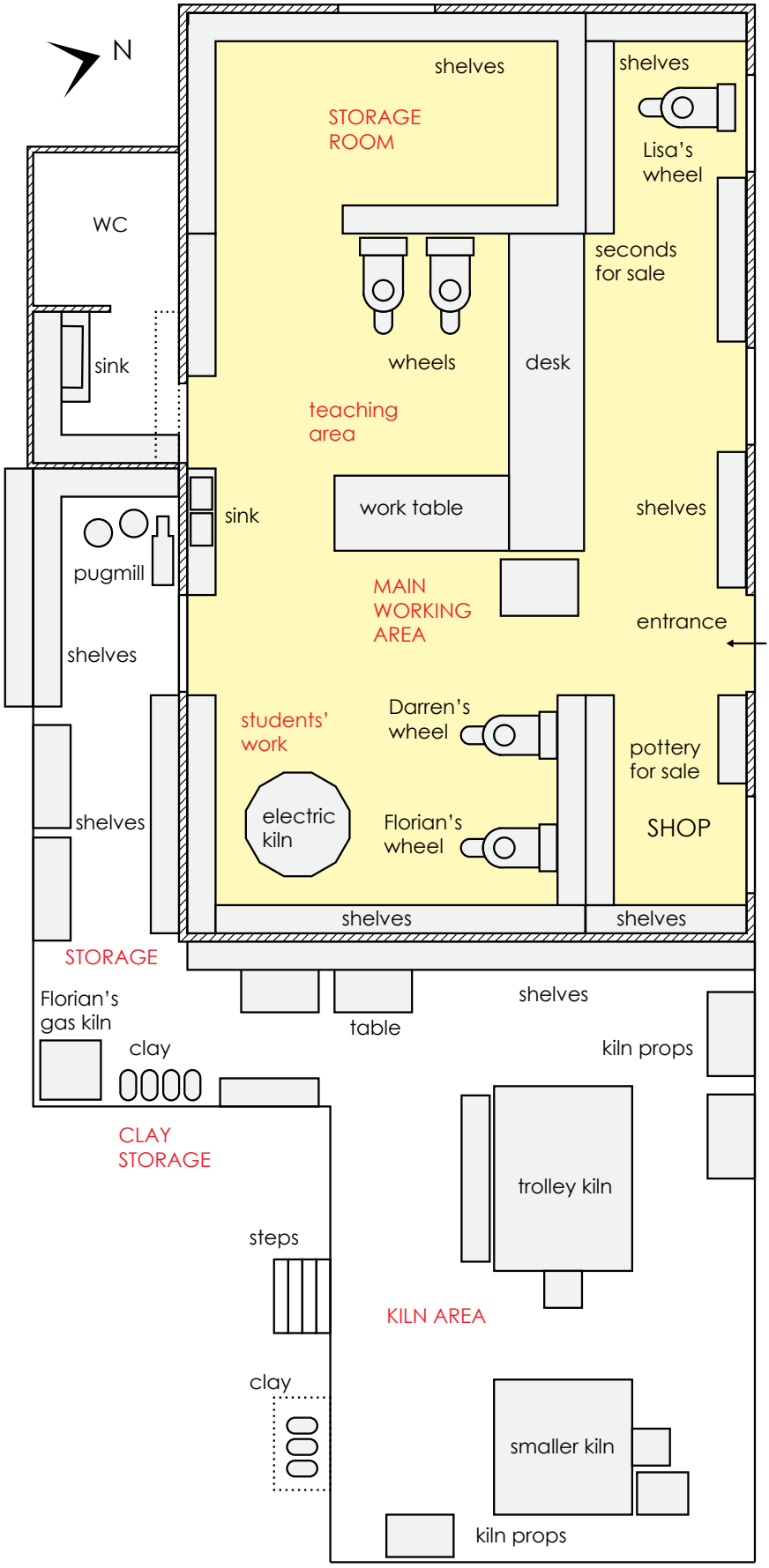

Figure 4.48 Indicative layout of the Maze Hill pottery building, showing the separation between the main indoors workshop and the outside space, where kilns and storage furniture are located.

Figure 4.49 Lisa Hammond at Maze Hill Pottery (photo: 13 Dec 2016).

Figure 4.50 Florian Gadsby at Maze Hill Pottery (photo: 25 May 2017).

Figure 4.51 Darren Ellis at Maze Hill Pottery (photo: 13 Dec 2016).

Figure 4.52 Espresso mugs for sale at the Maze Hill open studios event in December 2016 (photo: 13 Dec 2016).

Figure 4.53 Jugs by Lisa Hammond on the shelves outside at Maze Hill pottery (photo: 8 Dec 2016).

Figure 4.54 Lisa's personal work on storage at Maze Hill (photo: 8 Dec 2016).

apprenticed to Lisa Hammond for two years until 2012, when she was based in Devon (Ellis, 2018). He continued to work for Lisa for another year. He is currently a technician at the Institute of Making in London, and continues to maintain a wheel and kiln at Maze Hill, where he makes his personal range of work.

Darren provided demonstrations of mug throwing during fieldwork and his personal views on the technological styles of Maze Hill potters, the transmission of techniques in the pottery and other aspects of work (MH07). The discussions provided useful background information to the conversations with Lisa and Florian.

4.4.4 The fieldwork conducted at Maze Hill

Fieldwork at Maze Hill consisted of 11 visits made between February 2016 and May 2017. The London location made visits easy to arrange on a flexible basis, responding to the availability of the potters, and each would normally last an entire working day. Typically, this would entail conversations with Florian and filming him while working, with Lisa and others providing further explanations and comments.

The experience included three firings of the medium soda kiln, which highlighted the complexity of the process and the difference from the approach followed in the other case studies. In May 2017, it was also possible to observe the induction provided by Florian and Lisa to a potential new apprentice, Oliver Fenwick[8]. Darren also provided further insights on the method he used to make the Maze Hill mugs (MH07).

A total of 18 focused interviews and conversations were collected on site, in addition to videos of processes, all recorded over 64 video and audio files. A full list of data collected at Maze Hill is shown on page 415. An account of a typical day on site is provided in Section 5.4.

4.4.5 Making the Maze Hill mug

Attempts to reproduce the Maze Hill mug were made off site, guided by Florian's precise instructions, the analysis of his processes conducted for the study and the inspection of original mugs (Figure 4.54). The cylinder shapes were relatively simple to reproduce, with a subtle belly created by a light shaving at the bottom and a small undercut near the base. The

8 Dominic Upson was later appointed as Florian's successor at the pottery.

Figure 4.55 Mixing the soda mix in preparation for firing the medium kiln (photo: 18 Feb 2016).

Figure 4.56 Spraying the soda mix in the medium kiln at Maze Hill with Florian and Lisa (photo: 18 Feb 2016).

Figure 4.57 A bisque (left) and a raw mug (right) made by Florian Gadsby (photo: 23 May 2017).

Figure 4.58 A raw mug produced to reflect on making 'in the manner of' Florian at Maze Hill (photo: 20 Mar 2018).

Figure 4.59 Other raw mugs produced for the study, in the style of Maze Hill (photo: 20 Mar 2018).

handles would require further practicing: the loop is too wide (Figure 4.58), the execution is uncertain and does not compare with Florian's craftsmanship. The process showed the benefit of a systematic and clean approach to making handle stubs and attaching them in quick succession, with a series of economical moves. As per the other cases, the results were not satisfactory *per se* but reflections on the process informed the discussion of qualities and methods.

4.5 Additional fieldwork

4.5.1 Introduction

In the intense period of research required to undertake this doctoral study, all opportunities were sought for direct experience of pottery making, examination of products, observation of methods and conversations with potters. This included the participation to UK ceramic and pottery fairs (e.g. Art in Clay at Hatfield and Farnham; Ceramics in the City at the Geoffrey Museum, London; Ceramic Art London; Oxfordshire Artweeks; Cambridge Open Studios) and visits to numerous workshops in the UK and abroad.

The sections below single out the experiences which had the greater impact on the development of the study and on its findings.

4.5.2 The Oxford Anagama project

4.5.2.1 About the project

The Oxford Anagama project is a collaboration between potters and the University of Oxford to build and fire Japanese-style climbing kilns (Whichford, 2018). The site is located in Wytham Woods, an area of ancient semi-natural woodland owned by Oxford University and used for environmental research. The project is co-directed by Robin Wilson (Whytham Studio, Department of Anthropology, Oxford) and Jim Keeling of Whichford Pottery, and runs in collaboration with the Japanese 'national treasure' potter Isezaki Jun, via his former apprentice Kazuya Ishida.

At the time of fieldwork, the site housed a modern anagama brick kiln and a smaller anagama willow kiln, built in 2015 by the community of professional potters and volunteers who run the project (Figure 4.60). A smaller brick kiln was added in 2018.

4.5.2.2 Firing the anagama

Participation in three firings between January 2016 and May 2017 provided unprecedented direct experience of woodfiring, and great exposure to a community of British and international potters. The firings followed the prolonged methods used in the Bizen area of Japan, which requires a system of shifts during day and night for five consecutive days each time. These resulted in many fruitful conversations about pottery practices which contributed to this study.

Firing and preparatory processes were documented in interviews, conversations, photos and videos, following a similar approach to the one used for the case studies. Extensive conversations with the potters provided a diversity of interpretations about woodfiring (Figure 4.61). For some, the fascination with the approach lies in its unpredictability, whereas others enjoyed the challenge of mastering all aspects of the complex operations involved (OA01). In line with the findings of the study discussed in later chapters, this diversity of views demonstrated the importance of narratives for the interpretation of factual processes, beyond a mere appreciation of qualities in the potters' work.

Exposure to operations carried out by Jim Keeling and other potters from Whichford Pottery, and conversations with all participants provided further context for the understanding of British pottery workshops and the influence of old country pottery traditions on contemporary practices.

Overall, the knowledge acquired at Wytham widened the horizon of the study and helped understand the British pottery landscape from another viewpoint. The experience also provided much material for discussion with the participants during the fieldwork conducted in the three case study workshops.

4.5.3 Japan

In his introduction to the *Things of Beauty Growing* catalogue, Glenn Adamson argues that pottery is often seen as a local art form but this is misleading, and a true understanding of British studio pottery can only be reached by examining global exchanges (Adamson et al, 2017: p.24). The Japanese influence on British pottery is widely acknowledged by potters and authors (e.g. Bloomfield, 2013: p.18; McErlain, 2002; Hopper, 2000). Many Japanese

forms, materials and approaches to making have entered the standard curriculum of studio potters, arguably more than any other foreign tradition. The connection goes deeper than a simple influence on an already established canon, as the studio movement historically developed in close relation to Mingei principles, promoted by Bernard Leach, his former apprentices and others.

Regular visits conducted over the last eight years to kiln sites in Japan informed this study of British pottery practices by providing access to techniques, equipment and products which were observed during fieldwork in the UK, referred to by the participants and discussed in literature. In particular, direct experience of kiln sites and ceramic collections in the Seto, Mino and Mashiko areas have provided wider context for the discussion of Lisa's approach to making and the Japanese influences in her work.

The town of Mashiko is twined with St. Ives in Cornwall. The Hamada Pottery is currently run by Shoji Hamada's grandson Tomoo (Figure 4.63), who continues to collaborate with the Leach Pottery, which his grandfather co-founded almost 100 years ago. Other visits to workshops directly influenced by the Mingei movement inspired comparisons with methods of work, qualities and narratives associated with British practices. These include locations in the Seto, Mino and Tokoname areas (famous for their industrial ceramics), the town of Imbe (where Bizen pottery is produced), the city of Hagi (where traditional tea ware is made), Tamba (where Janet Leach worked in 1954) and various potteries in Okinawa, Shikoku and Kyushu islands. In Kyushu, the villages of Onta (Figure 4.62) and Okawachiyama provided powerful examples of traditional Japanese pottery communities, whose experience could be compared with descriptions in literature (e.g. Leach, 1960; Moeran, 1980).

Despite the lack of a direct Japanese influence on the work of the Jenkins at Ewenny, many historical methods mentioned by Alun could still be observed in Japan, where some traditional communities have retained the pragmatic approach to making of the family-based workshops rooted in localism which characterised the work of British country potters before modernisation.

More generally, it could be argued that pottery in Japan offers a comprehensive range of practices on a more extensive scale than in the UK. For example, large artisanal workshops

Figure 4.60 The reduction flames of the brick anagama in Wytham Woods, during the first firing (photo: 17 Jan 2016).

Figure 4.61 Stocking wood during a night shift of the second firing of the 'willow' kiln (photo: 10 May 2016).

Figure 4.62 Clay preparation in the traditional village of Onta in southern Japan (photo: 4 Sept 2014).

Figure 4.63 Tomoo Hamada demonstrating throwing off the hump at his pottery in Mashiko, Japan (photo: 26 Feb 2017).

Figure 4.64 Waste pots from a traditional pit firing at Togorme, Ghana (photo: 4 Sept 2015).

Figure 4.65 John Andoh throwing a large flowerpot in Michael Cardew's old pottery in Vume, Ghana (photo: 10 Aug 2016).

such as Whichford Pottery are the exception in the UK but much more common in Japan, where studio potters need to compete - and can learn from and collaborate - with well-established artisanal, semi-industrial and industrial production operating on a vast scale. This can help contextualise the peculiar dominance of individual studio practices in the British landscape.

4.5.4 Ghana

Similarly to the experiences in Japan, visits to several sites in Ghana between 2015 and 2016 provided useful information on pottery practices which bore some relation to those analysed in the UK. In Ghana, traditional pottery is made predominantly by women using coiling and other hand-building techniques, and fired in pit firings (Figure 4.64). The potter's wheel is mostly found in cities and rural areas which came to contact with foreign influences. At Vume, in the southern Volta Region, a workshop run by local potter Stephen Bonny operates on the site which once housed Michael Cardew's pottery in the 1940s and still includes the ruins of his kiln. They currently produce terracotta flowerpots which are fired with a combination of wood and sawdust, before being lavishly decorated (i.e. not glazed) in brightly coloured house paint.

During a second visit in August 2016, professional thrower John Andoh (Figure 4.65) was making large flowerpots with pastry decoration, a typology directly derived from British (and generally European) methods and aesthetics. The unfussy, pragmatic approach to production showed great similarities with the historical country pottery operations described in McGarva (2000) and discussed with Roelof at the Leach and, above all, with Alun at Ewenny. The contrast with the modernised environments observed in the UK inspired further reflections on technological change, efficiency and other operational considerations which informed the discussions in Chapters 7 and 8.

4.6 Conclusions

The study relied on the availability of the participants for the elicitation and recording of data for analysis. The three case studies cannot comprehensively represent the diversity of practices discussed in Section 2.2, but their careful selection aimed to cover key approaches to making tableware pottery on the potter's wheel in the UK today. These inspired

comparisons which brought further insights to the foreground.

Beyond obvious differences in the aesthetics of the pottery considered for analysis, the information provided in this chapter has highlighted the specific historical background of the workshops and the diverse conditions under which they operate. The Leach and Maze Hill potteries have educational as well as commercial purposes, operate alongside registered charities and employ apprentices and volunteers. Ewenny is a family-run business which values its locality and traditional approach.

The background information presented in this chapter will be developed in the next, through ethnographic descriptions of the work observed on site. The distinct material approaches introduced here are more extensively discussed as part of the analysis of qualities in Chapter 6, whereas the dynamics of work and their interpretations lead to the discussion of narratives in Chapters 7 and 8.

5 Ethnographic accounts

> *"...fieldwork should be carried out in places of everyday work and activity in order to take full account of the impact of social interaction and environment on learning hand skills, developing personal style, and problem solving* ***with*** *tools and materials"*
>
> *(Marchand, 2012: p.263).*

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the fieldwork conducted on site at the three workshops. The accounts in Sections 5.2 to 5.4 are written in the first person, and bibliographical references, links to other sections of the thesis and additional notes are provided as footnotes. A grey background distinguishes these sections from the rest of the thesis. This change of format aims to reflect the subjective experiences expected of ethnographic texts and create loyal representations of the events recorded on site (Pink, 2013: p.165). The third person is reprised in the conclusions in Section 5.5.

Each account describes a typical full day on site, including lunchtime and other breaks. This aims to provide an intimate rendition of a typical day of fieldwork, rather than faithfully depicting sequences observed on specific dates. The text compiles events which may have occurred on different dates, illustrated by photos which were taken throughout the study and enriched by quotes recorded on site. Focus is placed on introducing technical procedures and interpretations discussed in later chapters, and add detailed context in which to locate the findings of the study.

The expression "a day in the life" echoes the title of descriptions of potters at work which were published in *Ceramic Review* magazine in the 1990s. However, the style, length and resolution of the accounts follow a closer engagement with the potters more typical of ethnographic writings.

The ethnographic accounts develop the introductory information on the case studies provided in Chapter 4 into a closer narration about the potters' work. At the same time, they illustrate the researcher's experience of gathering information on site, exemplifying

Figure 5.1 Caitlin Jenkins attaching lids on salt pigs on the main wheel at Ewenny (photo: 3 Mar 2016).

Figure 5.2 Freshly handled barrel mugs with 'twisted' handles (photo: 4 Mar 2016).

some of the methods discussed in Chapter 3. The text also brings the discussion of qualities and processes closer to the resolution required to understand references and explanations provided in later chapters, as readers are likely to lack prior acquaintance of the potters' work (Emerson, 1995: p.169). The unfolding of conversations and events also starts to delineate themes which are characteristic of each workshop, discussed more extensively in Chapter 7.

5.2 'A day in the life' at Ewenny Pottery

5.2.1 Start the day

I arrived soon after they opened the shop at 9.30am and found all three potters at work. The two large easterly windows cast a strong light on the area where Caitlin was throwing. She was making small lids on the old wheel, attaching them to what looked like elegant tall jars and turned out to be salt pigs (Figure 5.1). Both Caitlin and Alun prefer using their main old wheel for long throwing sessions[1]. Alun was tidying up the area around the smaller wheel, which is used for secondary tasks.

Most tables and surfaces were covered with barrel mugs at different stages: leather-hard cylinders to be handled, bisque mugs awaiting glazing and some freshly glazed mugs ready for firing. Jayne was setting up the lower table in the middle of the workshop. At the back, Alun had gathered a couple of boards of mugs and was ready to handle them.

I knew the light around Caitlin was not ideal for filming and that she would be working there for a while. I was eager to observe and film Alun handling the mugs, as I had previously recorded Caitlin perform the same task. I asked for permission and set up my tripod by the wall, trying to match the view I had used for Caitlin. Knowing he had dozens of mugs to go through, I filmed the first few without interrupting his flow of actions with questions. I had learned in the pilot study that it was best to film processes and interviews separately[2]. As a general rule, I would start each day on site by making videos of processes, let the potters familiarise with my presence, and ensure I observed and recorded their actions. Repeat throwing means the potters work on the same task for extended periods, so

1 Alun bought it second hand in the 1970s after using similar wheels at college in Cardiff.

2 This separation is discussed in Section 3.2.4.2.

I can wait for a more convenient time to ask questions[3].

Alun attached the stub of clay at the lower end of the mug and pulled a long coil off it, giving it a round section. This was not the handle I had observed Caitlin make a week earlier. He stretched the coil upwards at an angle and instead of pressing the end tip onto the mug, he made a loop and attached it on one side. He then continued to clean and fettle as usual. They call it 'twisted handle' and it has been part of the repertoire of Ewenny for generations (Figure 5.2).

> *"I can't tell you when it started but that again is a sort of old traditional shape", he had told me the day before. "It's the sort of thing that years ago… they would have seen something like that and imitated. And then the way we would do it is slightly different from what my grandparents would have done, you know?"*[4].

I was pleased to capture his comments on video and concentrated on filming and understanding his actions. Handling is harder to film than throwing. Many views and zooms are required to document the entire sequence, as the details of the operation range from making one-metre-long coils with stretched arms to delicately rubbing the joint areas with a thumb. My priority was to capture his actions for analysis, rather than achieving good photography. The static set up was satisfactory but I also managed to film a few sequences at different zooms. Once I felt I had recorded the entire method, I let him get on with the rest and switched my attention to Caitlin.

5.2.2 Caitlin on centring

I was curious about the shapes she was making and her method of throwing. The lids only needed a small ball of clay, which made them difficult to centre. At Ewenny they never cone the clay up and down, instead, they trap the clay in both hands and press it down onto the wheel-head. This method is associated with country pottery and production throwing, and it is not usually employed by studio potters[5]. I had seen it on my first visit and found it hard to replicate in the ceramic workshop at college, so I took the chance to observe it carefully. During the centring of the clay, the hands form a closed shape and it is hard to understand how the pressure is applied onto the clay by watching the videos (Figure

3 See Section 3.2.9.4 for a typical sequence of actions during fieldwork.

4 EP15.

5 Caitlin did not know anyone who ever coned at Ewenny and suspected it was an Oriental import.

5.3). I found I could only map their actions by testing them at the wheel, and then use the interviews to clarify my interpretations[6].

After filming a complete sequence, I asked Caitlin to confirm whether I had described their method correctly in the matrix.

> *"It feels like I'm using both hands", she started.*
>
> *"Symmetric…".*
>
> *"Yeah", she interrupted me, "but then maybe one hand is…".*
>
> *"You're right handed?", I was suggesting the right hand could be working more.*
>
> *"Yeah but maybe one hand is more strong than the other but it does feel I am squeezing the clay, yeah[7]".*

As much as I tried to avoid 'yes or no' questions, basic exchanges of a few words made up most conversations, until something triggered a well-developed thought or opinion which directly addressed my research questions. On that occasion, I was trying to discuss the influence of industry and studio pottery on Ewenny, in the context of centring and coning. My initial findings on centring were indicating the operation had some cultural salience, with techniques initially shaped by training and unlikely to change in later years. Without mentioning this to her, I recorded her thoughts:

> *"But I think something like that is quite… That is something you would do if you're taught, isn't it? You know… It's not so… It's not something you would change. You know, you change the way you bring up or something, the amount of clay to use if you make a big pot or something, "give it a go, try that", "all right", you know? That or whatever but something like centring I can't see that it would be…".*

I was pleased to find some confirmation in her response[8].

5.2.3 Logistics on site

Caitlin continued with her tasks while I moved back to Alun. He had finished handling and was now throwing barrel-shaped mug cylinders on the small wheel. That day I had brought another camera with me[9] to test a way to fix the focus on a moveable target. I

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6 Later in the study I practiced centring clay by simply pressing it down. The direct experience of making and the potters' descriptions taught me to analyse the videos more carefully.

7 EP15.

8 EP15. Caitlin's observation contributed to the analysis of centring in Section 8.2.3.3.

9 A Panasonic Lumix.

Figure 5.3 Video analysis does not offer much information on what pressure the fingers are applying to the lump of clay beneath (video still: 24 Feb 2016).

Figure 5.4 Alun fixing the handmade terracotta hump on the wheel-head (video still: 4 Mar 2016).

filmed Alun fixing a terracotta hump on the wheel-head to raise the working height and find a more comfortable position (Figure 5.4). I had not seen it before but learned that had been employed at Ewenny for generations[10]. The hump they made to replace the old metal ones worked out well for almost a year but started to show some signs of wear. Alun threw a thick chuck of clay to fix it on the wheel and eventually made it work by trial and error.

In the meantime, Caitlin had moved to the glazing area and unloaded the bisque kiln. Jayne was preparing pots for shipping. I was talking to Alun when two customers entered the shop. Jayne welcomed them without getting up. Alun glanced at the customers and quickly went back to his task.

5.2.4 The process matrix as interview guide

I waited a few more minutes before starting the conversation. Alun had fixed the hump and started to throw barrel mugs. Despite my focus on contemporary making, conversations with the Jenkins often ended up looking back at the history of the place and the methods employed by their ancestors. This suited my interest in tradition and innovation in contemporary workshops.

> *"Everything… the way I work is what I've learned off my forebears, you know, and they learned off their forebears", he reminded me a few times. "With slight modifications, obviously[11]".*
>
> *"Can you think exactly what you've changed from your father and your grandfather?", I tried.*
>
> *He hesitated. "Ehm…", then paused. "No, not really[12]".*

Asking Alun directly about the origins of his methods only produced a standard answer which linked them with those of his predecessors. Potters may find it difficult to discuss their work in abstract terms[13], let alone summarise in a few words gradual changes in procedures which may have evolved over many years. My approach was to systematically ask about each elemental operation involved in the making of a mug and

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10 In his *Country Pottery* Andrew McGarva explains how potters would sometimes use a chuck to raise the working surface when throwing smaller ware more comfortably (2000: p.73). This accurately describes the technique observed at Ewenny.

11 The findings of the study challenge Alun's words to some extent. Change and innovation at Ewenny is discussed in Section 7.2.2.

12 EP15.

13 Tacit knowledge in craft is briefly discussed in Section 2.1.2.1.

other typologies, using the draft process matrix as a guide. Interviews and conversations provided fine-grained accounts of personal habits, training histories and more conscious approaches. Ethnographic engagement with the potters, prolonged observations and casual conversations would naturally bring up frequent discoveries and revelations. This combination of systematic and more unstructured enquiry shed light on their philosophies of making in ways that would have been very hard to anticipate and ask about directly.

5.2.5 Caitlin on glazing

Caitlin unloaded the bisque ware on the glaze table and started dusting it off with an old glove. Alun had explained to me the day before that any dust or grease on the bisque would make the glaze thicken and crawl. No sponge or cloth worked for them as well as their old glove.

> *"How do you know the consistency of the glaze is right?".*
>
> *"Just the feel, the touch… visually and the feel of it", Alun had told me*[14]*.*

Now Caitlin was putting into practice her father's words. She took a large bucket from below the table, removed the lid and cleaned the walls with the side of her index. She followed a specific pattern of movements with her fingers, something I had noticed Alun doing as well. They have different ways of cleaning their hands but they are both specific and leave no space for improvisation. Caitlin's choreographed actions often end with her indexes sliding along the edges of the splash pan or, in that case, the glaze bucket.

She dipped her forearm in it, mixing vigorously until she seemed satisfied with the consistency of single cream. I was still setting up the camera on the other side of the table when she cleaned her arm and made some space for the mugs. I had just started to film when she dipped the first mug in the glaze, holding it from the handle.

> *"The glaze doesn't run much, or does it?", I asked.*
>
> *"Ehm…", she hesitated.*
>
> *"Do you need to be careful with the bottom?"*
>
> *"I tell you what it is. Sometimes if you don't clean that bit off it'll come and run down there", she pointed at a few drops of excess glaze on the handle.*
>
> *"Oh, on the handle?"*

14 EP16.

"On the handle. And we noticed that the splash comes up to there as well so if it came down it would run[15]*".*

She kept the splash glaze away from the foot to avoid a build-up too close to the base. Her detailed knowledge ensures high standards of quality and negligible waste[16]. Customers would occasionally complain about some glaze drops on the rim of the mugs, but for Caitlin, that should not be considered an issue.

The glazes currently used at Ewenny were entirely redeveloped by Alun over the years based on previous colour combinations. The historical pottery was mostly producing unglazed flower pots, and his father and uncle used lead-based glazes that are now considered unsafe. Alun's favourite Ewenny pot in the family collection is a 1930s vase by his grandfather David John which shows a golden lustre on a honey glaze. It was probably produced by the gorse they used at the end of a wood firing to reach temperatures.

"In a way, they were just going by accident", Alun had told me.

The current method of dipping the mugs in glaze by the handle was already in use by his grandfather. Alun never tested alternative ways as he does not think they could be more efficient.

A "nice pink" and a bright green glaze were lost when they raised the firing temperature to 1100 °C[17]. His technical knowledge and especially his control of the glazes is clearly superior to his ancestors' achievements.

"It's a better glaze, it's a harder glaze", he had told me[18].

After Caitlin finished dipping the whole batch of mugs on the table, she started dipping the handles. Each time a mug is picked up there is an opportunity to check its quality and prevent any issues. She scanned the inside for areas without glaze, occasionally dipping her index in the bucket and retouching it. She would also rub off any excess glaze and generally have a good look at the mug before proceeding with the next operation[19].

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15 EP11.

16 We calculated on site that waste pots are less than 1%.

17 In September 2016, Alun was conducting glaze tests to replicate them.

18 EP09.

19 The relationship between quality control procedures and manufacturing salience is discussed in Section 7.3.2.

Figure 5.5 Caitlin applying splash glaze on a straight mug (video still: 4 Mar 2016).

Figure 5.6 Claypits and Ewenny potteries seen from Ewenny village across the valley (photo: 4 Mar 2016).

I asked Caitlin about differences with her father's method of glazing. The procedure looked identical but she had come to prefer the mugs she glazed over her father's. I was surprised by her comment so I asked her about it.

> *"I mean I'm not saying… I'm self-critical of myself, I'm not saying that, but I feel he doesn't put enough splash on. I prefer more splash on it."*
>
> *"Ok", I let her continue.*
>
> *"And on the brown you got to be careful how much splash you put on. If you put too much splash on the brown it just becomes… It doesn't have that kind of… So the different glazes are different".*
>
> *"Uhuhm…", I nodded.*
>
> *"But in the majority I prefer more splash on the glaze", she concluded*[20].

She knew it sounded harsh on her father but it was simply her preference (Figure 5.5), not dictated by customers' choice.

> *"I like it, so I then tend to think that other people will like it", she said and laughed.*

Jayne came in and called us for lunch. We looked at the clock on the front wall and it was almost 1pm. We turned the sign at the front, locked the door and moved to the house through the storage room.

5.2.6 Lunch at Ewenny

The decision to have lunch elsewhere on my first day on site created unnecessary distance between us. Since then I had accepted the offer and had lunch in Alun and Jayne's house next door. The experience added new insights into their lifestyle and the role pottery plays in it.

The view from the kitchen overlooks the village, the Ewenny river and its green valley (Figure 5.6). I remember finding our ploughman's lunch conventionally British. It was served with tea in a range of Ewenny tableware pots.

> *"Use the seconds, sell the best", explained Alun*[21]*, smiling.*

The conversation shifted to my trips to Africa and Japan, but never ventured too far from pottery. As we moved to the living room Alun took me to a cabinet with his collection of

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20 EP15.

21 EP07.

pots and showed me a porcelain piece by Martin Lungley. I recognised a small sake bottle by the old Leach pottery, a Muchelney bowl by John Leach and a slipware jug by Clive Bowen. It had a yellow glaze and was made of similar materials to Ewenny pottery.

> *"Do you look at other people? Do you look at others' pots?" I had asked in an interview.*
>
> *"Yes, yeah, but when I look at pots I look at function and a lot of… they may be pot forms but when it comes to function, you know. When I go away I'd be calling any pottery that I happen to pass and see what they're doing".*

Alun likes jugs and he keeps a small collection in a vitrine. I asked him about it.

> *"I don't know. I go back to the function. It's a nice shape, you know. I find it a tender shape, really, the jug. I describe it in those terms, but I'm just drawn to them. The form of the spout, the way the handle is on the pot, a lot of the jugs have this... they're not that practical because the way they lift, the position of the…"*
>
> *I suggested, "Balance?".*
>
> *"Yeah". He continued, "I like to see what sort of glazes they're using, how they form their glazes and all the recipes[22]".*

We moved to the living room, Alun read the paper while I chatted with Caitlin. She mentioned a project for her children's school for which she proposed to fire clay houses in an open pit. She had no previous experience with that particular technique, so she was searching it online. She gave me the latest *Ceramic Review*[23] and I noticed an article about pit firing she had not seen. I told her about my experience of open firings in Ghana and the updraft kilns I had seen there. That reminded her of Clive Bowen, who had never visited them but once said he had been to Ewenny as a young boy. He was impressed by the old kiln and could remember it[24]. His beehive kiln is similar to the old Ewenny kiln.

Despite their relative isolation, their decision to primarily sell on site and participate in very few exhibitions, Alun and Caitlin are aware of the wider ceramic landscape. Over my visits, I collected many anecdotes about other potters. Alun recounted how his uncle Glynn Doom, who had trained at Ewenny, met David Leach during the war. Glynn had been influenced by studio pottery, which was evident by the way he turned the foot of pots and his Oriental sense of proportions. Alun would later explain the difference in the approaches

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22 EP10.

23 Issue 278, March-April 2016.

24 This account is recorded in Eden and Eden, 1999: p.24.

of the old Ewenny potters and those of studio potters:

> *"The old potters, I was gonna say, the more they produced the more they earned. It was speed of production and then produce a lot more, sell it cheaper, that was it. They didn't necessarily look at this sort of aesthetics as much as perhaps we would. And that comes from making things like pots, flowerpots, you know, you just churn them out and the more… you got paid. And it did the job, so if it did the job that was enough. I'm not saying that all of them were the same. Glynn Doom, who, there's a vase of his… well he was the only one who would turn a vase, turn the foot on a vase"*[25].

A more refined sensibility was brought to Ewenny by Alun and Caitlin, also thanks to their studies[26] and a wider understanding of the history and techniques of ceramics. They were already professional potters before going to university, having learned and worked in the family business in their teens. When I asked Alun if he had been influenced by Leach and studio pottery he answered:

> *"Yes, oh well. I came with my own tradition really, you know, and in some way perhaps there was a bit of a clash".*
>
> *"But do you think something remained of that college experience and the way you do things?". Sometimes it was worth trying to ask direct questions.*
>
> *"Oh yes, there remained a lot… to do with glazes, particularly, understanding of how glazes are composed*[27]*".*

Since he took over the pottery, Alun redesigned the range, replaced glaze recipes, found new uses for old machinery and eventually built the new workshop[28]. Even in the past at Ewenny there had never been a fixed 'tradition' to embrace and preserve for the future. Their approach to making and signature style would be adapted over and over by successive generations of Jenkins who needed to respond to ever-changing technological, market and social conditions.

5.2.7 Alun on handling

We returned to the workshop right before 2pm. Caitlin flipped the sign outside and went

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25 Alun's eldest uncle worked in the family pottery till 1939 (EP21).

26 Alun graduated from Cardiff College of Art in 1969. Caitlin graduated from Cardiff in 1998, worked in various potteries in New Zealand in 1999 and completed a master's at the Royal College of Art in London in 2003.

27 EP09.

28 When Arthur and Dai Jenkins retired they sold the old building, which survives today as a pine furniture dealer. Alun set up a pottery in his garage in the early 1970s and eventually built the current workshop in 1977.

Figure 5.7 Jayne pricing and wrapping pots in newspaper, ready for shipping (video still: 4 Mar 2016).

Figure 5.8 Jayne's signs all pots with a large carpenter's nail, as previous generations of Ewenny potters did before her (video still: 24 Feb 2016).

back to work at the glaze table. Jayne remained home a bit longer. By the time I had set the camera up, Alun was already throwing barrel mugs on the smaller wheel. I looked at the information that was still missing from the process matrix and decided to ask some questions about handling. He remembered practicing handling in the old workshop and finding it hard.

> *"It took me a long time to get something that was acceptable".*

Our conversation ran freely, as I often found appropriate during my first days on site. I had a list of questions to ask but I was also eager to create the right conditions for more serendipitous moments. Then Alun changed wheel and started turning a large plate made on commission, a process I filmed in silence before moving on to Jayne.

5.2.8 Jayne

Jayne had gone back to her table and was wrapping pots for shipping (Figure 5.7). I started with simple biographical questions. She used to work in a bank but after having her first child she quit and started to help her husband in the pottery, which at the time meant working in their garage. Alun would make the pots and she would help with any other tasks, from glazing and decorating with slip to firing the bisque and applying transfers.

> *"Pottery was known really for a lot of commemorative royal occasions and so we did transfers then", she explained.*

The business took off when they produced a series of mugs celebrating the Queen's Silver Jubilee, which was very successful.

> *"That's something I brought from college", added Alun. "They never used to do it before. In college there was a chap who, a graphic designer actually, who started to do some transfers in small quantities. But of course as we continued it didn't sort of suit the pottery anymore".*
>
> *"The thing is we had to buy so many", continued Jayne. "As I said, it was only the two of us; so it was all the time, all day[29]".*

Jayne does not consider herself a potter. She does not like the feel of wet clay and only starts working on the pots when they get leather hard. However, on top of assisting the potters, she is responsible for many salient operations which lead to visible qualities in the ware. She decorates commissioned pots with sgraffito text. She checks and cleans all

29 EP12.

greenware and is generally in charge of the shop. Virtually all the pots produced in the workshop are signed by her with the characteristic "Ewenny Pottery Wales"[30] written on the unglazed bottom in her elegant cursive handwriting (Figure 5.8).

> *"Do you have a favourite task?" I asked her.*
>
> *"I can tell you my least favourite", she immediately replied, smiling.*
>
> *"Yes?".*
>
> *"Dusting".*
>
> *"Dusting".*

I often found myself repeating words to confirm I heard them correctly. This habit did not improve the quality of my transcripts but helped me keep the conversation going on site.

> *"I hate dusting. It takes me two days and you do it and it's all back to square one".*
>
> *"You", continued Caitlin, "I'll tell you, with the inscribing on to the pots when we have orders for inscriptions, that takes a lot of the…".*
>
> *"It's actually" interrupted Jayne, "if it's a Welsh inscription you'd better make sure the spelling is…".*
>
> *"Yeah", I nodded, smiling.*
>
> *"But even the…", I sensed Caitlin wanted to praise her mother's role in the pottery, while Jayne always tried to play down her contribution.*
>
> *"It'd be quite interesting to have a misspelt pot in Welsh", I commented. "Celebrating the Welsh language with a misspelling".*
>
> *Jayne smiled. "Been there, done that".*
>
> *"Yes", Alun joined in. "Not many would notice".*

We laughed and soon took a short afternoon break. Jayne came back from the house with a tray of Ewenny pots filled with biscuits and tea. Caitlin took private lessons and her Welsh is the best in the family. She is often asked to check words on commissioned pots.

Alun's grandfather David John Jenkins was the last truly Welsh-speaking member of the family and ran the business in Welsh. When I tried to explore technical terms used by the Jenkins today (such as 'benching' for wedging clay) to identify linguistic links with the past, I soon realised they were probably translated into English only a couple of generations ago.

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30 Previous pots only read 'Ewenny Pottery'. 'Wales' was added in 1992 to specify the country of origin, according to new European regulations (EP05).

5.2.9 Caitlin on qualities

Before the end of the working day, Caitlin offered to talk me through the range of pots for sale in the shop. I wanted to capture her views on what gives Ewenny pottery its characteristic qualities. I used the smaller, less invasive camera to record her comments alongside visual references.

She described forms more than tactile qualities: their overall composition, how the different elements fit together, the curvature of a belly. She mentioned, as a passing comment, that she knew the pot she was talking about had been made by Alun.

> *"You can tell?". I was surprised.*
>
> *"Yeah cause my father does the ribs on it".*

I thought for a moment she meant something to do with the rib tool, but she was referring to the throwing marks Alun likes to leave on the little jugs and barrel mugs. She taught me to recognise subtle difference in profiles, feet and handles. I realised my conversation with Caitlin would be useful information for the study. It confirmed how sensitive the shaping of soft clay can be, and how significant variations can be produced by practically intangible differences in the making.

Approaching 5pm, I wrapped up my equipment while they moved the last few boards of freshly thrown pots to dry on the racks located in the middle of the workshop. I thanked everyone and Caitlin took me to the door, where she removed the shop sign. My first round of interviews and filming at Ewenny was over, but we agreed I would be back in a few months.

5.2.10 Writing fieldnotes

The evenings after a day on site were among the most reflective moments in the study. That night, I took a later train, sat in a café and wrote down all I had observed during the day when the information was still fresh in my mind. I continued to add to my notes on my journey home. Back in London, I backed up the 70 video clips and 150 photos I had taken on site. Annotating each photo, I remembered other details to add to my fieldnotes.

I recorded particularistic observations and more general considerations on the case study, attempting a situated analysis of the material. In a couple of paragraphs titled 'visible and

Figure 5.9 The view over the back of the kilns and the museum buildings at the Leach Pottery, from the kitchen at Beagle Cross in the early morning (photo: 19 Apr 2016).

Figure 5.10 Leach standard ware mugs ready to be waxed and glazed in the glazing area of the workshop (photo: 26 July 2016).

invisible tradition', I wrote notes on the continuity in gestures, tools and processes largely inherited by previous generations of potters[31]. At Ewenny I started to appreciate a pot as a product of labour, rather than simply for its qualities as an object. I could read gestures and meanings behind the making of an object as simple as a mug, and discovered a web of references, inventions, improvisations: an overlooked wealth of knowledge and skills.

5.3 'A day in the life' at the Leach Pottery

5.3.1 Firing with Laurence

The kitchen at Beagle Cross[32] overlooked the garden and the museum (Figure 5.9). Having breakfast by the window, I could see clear steam rising from the middle kiln, the smallest of the three. Laurence had volunteered to start the firing in the morning[33], as unlike others he lived on site and did not mind getting up early.

"I was up early so I started around 6am this morning", he told me.

We had agreed we would start together at 7am. By the time I joined him the temperature in the kiln was rising steadily and the pots were losing their residual water content. The new Leach standard ware is fired in a reduction atmosphere in the three gas kilns located in the courtyard. Firings usually last about 12 hours, in time for one of the potters to complete the cycle at the end of his or her shift. Gas kilns do not require a continuous 'kiln watch' but need to be checked regularly throughout the day, so that small adjustments to burners and dumpers can ensure a correct firing cycle. Roelof would check the kiln on his arrival and all potters would be constantly keeping an eye on the firing and update him on progress.

I took a few notes on temperature and setup, and some photos of the kiln. In the workshop, Laurence was preparing for a day at the wheel. He liked to go down to the old workshop and was allowed to throw on the kick-wheels on display. He enjoyed the atmosphere in the

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31 For example I observed Caitlin using the three-legged gauge devised by her great grandfather David John Jenkins (Lewis, 1982: p.13).

32 Beagle Cross is a house on the Leach site, which accommodates the volunteer potters and short-term visitors.

33 Laurence Eastwood would often volunteer to start the kilns and leave work earlier in the afternoon.

museum and liked engaging in conversation with visitors[34].

> *"I just like the environment, it's a nice feel down here. Well, it's 95 years of history of people throwing down here. It just feels like there's more soul and atmosphere. The new workshop as anything is lovely but the old workshop, even though is cold and damp… it's got a nice warming feel"*[35].

Others did not like it as much as Laurence. Alongside producing the standard range of tableware, the potters were working on their personal pieces for an upcoming exhibition at the pottery[36]. Laurence was making his own range of mugs, terrines and mixing bowls, all slowly thrown on the kick-wheel. They were made and glazed with the materials available in the workshop, so they related to the standard ware range but had a more rustic, whimsical character.

5.3.2 The team at work

The main workshop consists of an oblong room, built between the museum courtyard and the water stream. It houses all wheels, two sinks, and most tools and materials used in the pottery. At the end of this larger space, a separate room contains the electric kiln used for bisque firing, and other racks and shelves for the pots to dry. Outside in the courtyard, two adjacent sheds are used for storing and preparing clay[37]. Even in winter, the potters move between buildings and across the courtyard to reach the kiln shed, or the shop storage behind it.

By 8:30am Kat, Matt and Callum had arrived and started preparing their workspaces. Kat took tea and coffee orders and went upstairs to the kitchen above the shop. Callum had brought some biscuits and placed them by the radio to share with everyone. With the music on, the workshop clean and everybody already instructed on their tasks, the working day could begin.

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34 Soon after my visit, demonstrations by the team became a permanent feature of the exhibit. Visitors would find one of the potters at the old kick-wheels, making the new range of ware.

35 LP13.

36 The exhibition 'In-House Show' by Leach Studio Team was held at the Leach Pottery between 28th May and 3rd July 2016, coordinated by Matthew Tyas and David Griffin.

37 A revised configuration was used in September 2017, when the potters had changed the orientation of the working tables and all seven wheels were moved to the back of the room. A second large electric kiln was acquired and a woodfire soda kiln was being built in the courtyard.

At the time, Kat was in charge of producing the new porcelain range she had developed with Roelof. She did everything from reclaiming the porcelain clay to throwing and handling all the pieces. Her wheel was dedicated to porcelain, and every time she had to throw stoneware she would use somebody else's wheel. Matt had only joined the pottery a few months earlier[38] and was assigned to clay reclaim and miscellaneous tasks. Callum went straight to the glazing area and started mixing new buckets from a recipe in his little black notebook. Britta was expecting her second child at the time and was working on a part-time basis; she would arrive later that day.

5.3.3 Glazing with Callum

The glazing of the pots was mostly done in a dedicated area by the sink, between the kiln room and the row of wheels. Callum had already spent the previous day glazing the standard ware but had at least another day of similar tasks ahead (Figure 5.10). Just before starting his apprenticeship in 2015 he had injured his hand and would not practise throwing for another 6 months. He found there was a lot more to learn besides throwing.

> *"Well, you need to learn even just how to carry boards full of stuff. It's surprisingly harder the first times you're doing it. When you're watching Roelof or others with just one hand there, you know, cruising around…"*[39].

At the time Roelof was developing the reduction glazes for his new range of standard ware and Callum assisted him. This meant Callum became proficient in making and applying glazes before he could develop his throwing skills. He had remained in charge of mixing new glazes, washing wood ash (Figure 5.11), cleaning buckets and glazing area, and would check on others to ensure glazing was done correctly. He often also unpacked the bisque kiln, which allowed him to check the quality of all the pots he and others had made.

> *"Yeah, I mean, it's kind of down to everyone to keep an eye on every stage of everyone's work. Like, I do find it a little awkward sometimes if I can't make something but then I can see that something's wrong. Also with the way we have the turn up of the volunteers, you naturally have to keep an eye on the people who're working here"*[40].

Callum had cleaned the glaze buckets the day before and was now mixing the solids which accumulated on the walls with the liquid glaze in the middle. He used a hydrometer to

38 In October 2015.

39 LP16.

40 Ibid.

Figure 5.11 Callum Trudgeon washing ash in the glazing area (photo: 15 Apr 2017).

Figure 5.12 Kat Wheeler pulling handles off porcelain mugs. Britta Wengeler-James and Callum Trudgeon can be seen in the background (video still: 26 Apr 2016).

check the density of the dolomite glaze in the bucket he had just opened. He found it too thick and added a bit of water, then measured it again. Roelof is very particular about using the glaze at the right density, and does not think potters generally pay enough attention to this important step[41]. Britta was using a hydrometer for her own work and Roelof adopted it to ensure consistency in glaze application across all standard ware. The density value is written on all glaze buckets in the workshop next to the glaze's name, often followed by its recipe.

> *"Did you check the hydros on that?", Roelof asked.*
>
> *"Yes, 55", said Callum.*

I set the tripod and filmed him glazing plates in tenmoku[42]. He picked one from a board on his right, immersed it horizontally in the bucket and lifted it swiftly. He retained some extra glaze on the surface and waved the plate around to spread the liquid evenly. He then placed the plate on the low table on his left and picked up another one. He spent the rest of the day going through the remaining pots from the previous bisque firing, board after board, glazing pots of the same typology together before moving on to the next batch.

Callum was effectively in charge of glazing and bisque firing for the team, and did not seem to mind some division of labour, as long as variation was ensured in the long term.

> *"It all just goes through stages. Laurence does a lot of the glaze kiln packing and he has done for a little while but for a while before Laurence was here, I was doing that bit and I used to prep the clay and things like that until Matt came. Well, until Laurence came. He then took over the clay from me and then Matt from him"*[43].

5.3.4 Kat on her making methods

When I moved on to Kat, she was working at the main table just behind her wheel. Four boards of porcelain mugs were lined up, ready to be handled. A small bucket of water and a sponge lay beside her. She quietly got on with her task, listening to the music, discreetly overseeing what everybody else was doing and engaging in the occasional comment with others. Although I had filmed the handling of stoneware mugs, I wanted to compare it with the porcelain process. Kat thought the cylinders were too wet to be handled:

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41 LP89.

42 A glossy black glaze rich in iron oxide, one of the three colours used in the standard ware range.

43 LP16.

"I'll leave that upside down to dry a little, it should be a minute. Sometimes you just have to know it"[44].

I felt it would be a good time to film and ask her a few questions about her methods. I had noticed she could describe her actions effectively and in some detail. She said her awareness grew with her teaching experience.

"It's like, at first you sort of… you're struggling, so you're concentrating on every hand move that you're doing, but then eventually it's like learning to put a tie on, you internalise a little. It becomes like something that you can't think about too closely otherwise you can't do it. It's all muscle memory that you learn but then when you start teaching you have to break down these motions so you can explain them to somebody else, and so that your awareness kind of comes full circle. I find that I'm somehow sometimes really unaware of what I'm doing. "Oh and then why do you open it like this and not like that?" and I'm like "I don't know"". She then added "I had that when you showed me one of your videos[45]*, 'cause I don't really watch myself, so…"*[46].

In the meantime, Britta had joined us and was working at her wheel, only a couple of metres away. She overheard our conversation and added:

"I think I noticed, I noticed that I was quite fussy with cleaning up my hands, you know. Like I spent a long time cleaning my hands".

Kat replied: "yes cause we were kind of finishing at the same time, -ish".

Britta agreed: "Jordan, Kat and me were all like finished almost at the same time but I was there like…".

She mimed cleaning her hands excessively. Callum was quick to point out the need for quality from the start.

"It saves you the hassle of cleaning them up later anyway, 'cause those with a handprint on the side you got to leave it to us to deal with it".

Kat again: "I know Roelof and Jordan are happy to just scrape their hands off and then pick it up but I don't like it, I feel like my hands are still too wet".

Often during my interviews with one potter, others would join in and offer their comments on the topic. This was somewhat inevitable due to the proximity of the workstations and everyone sharing the room at any one time. Rather than asking for privacy, I encouraged these comments as the interaction would often lead to information I could not have

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44 LP30.

45 I produced a video collage of the potters throwing the same mug cylinder on the wheel (LP_v01) on site and showed it back to the potters in April 2016.

46 LP34.

gathered with direct questions.

5.3.5 Matt making tiles

Matt had also been listening but quietly got on with his tasks. Besides reclaiming and preparing clay for everyone to use, he was making a thousand tiles for an order from Seasalt[47] which kept him busy on and off for almost two weeks. He used the roller to prepare a thick slab of clay, evened it with his personal plastic kidney[48] and cut small square tiles from it (Figure 5.13). The tile-making tool he used was made in-house and consisted of an extruded metal tube to cut the clay and a smaller piece of square timber to release it. As I watched him work we talked about the process of making tiles and his first few months at the Leach.

> *"I started off with cylinders, and then right onto egg cups and small mugs, bowls and then plates. I did a board of big mugs last week".*

He smiled, pointing at boards of mugs on the racks. I asked if he felt that had been a natural progression.

> *"Well I think it was better being on the cylinders going to the egg cups 'cause when Callum did it he had to go straight into egg cups, and it's quite hard centring a tiny ball of clay"*[49].

After struggling with the small egg cups, Callum suggested Matt should learn the large mugs first, and only proceed to different shapes once he had some experience of throwing. Kat and Britta confirmed 300-400g of clay is an ideal quantity for throwing, with the lump roughly matching the size of one's hands. Anything smaller or larger presents additional challenges. As a result, the large and small mugs were later used to introduce new apprentices and volunteers to the range, practise throwing and learn to produce the qualities desired for the ware.

Matt described the simple decoration the tiles would receive. Some would be brushed using

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47 Seasalt are a Cornish company which sponsors the apprenticeship scheme at the pottery and is also a key wholesale client. A variation on the standard ware range developed for the company by Roelof, showing a characteristic white slip brush decoration under the oribe glaze, constituted a great portion of the tableware produced in the workshop at the time of my visits.

48 Matt had previously worked as a chef and liked to use a plastic pastry scraper as a pottery kidney or rib tool.

49 LP08.

Figure 5.13 Matt Foster cutting tiles from a slab (photo: 15 Apr 2016).

Figure 5.14 Jordan Scott's personal work waiting to be packed in the kiln (photo: 21 Apr 2016).

a Japanese hakeme with thick white slip, others simply dipped in slip but most would only be dipped directly in one of their standard glazes. This relative lack of decoration on the current range was a practical as well as aesthetic choice. Roelof wanted to develop the range before embarking in the difficult task of painting on ceramics.

> *"Well I think it's very difficult and specialised and there are very few people now. I mean it's hard now even to get people to know how to use a brush properly"*[50].

Roelof and Matt share a background in painting, and Roelof knew Matt could handle a brush. He had showed him four designs and asked him to come up with his own interpretations.

5.3.6 Pasty Thursdays

Callum interrupted our conversation to take lunch orders. "Sorry… pasties?". He looked at me and wrote down "cheese and veg" whilst asking out loud, "Laurence?". After taking orders from everyone, Kat drove Callum to town to buy pasties for the team, as it was customary on Thursdays.

I took more photos of Matt at work and sat down on a throwing stool to take some notes. I tried not to spend too long on my laptop during the day but I often found it useful to jot down impressions and names before I would forget them, and especially parts of conversations that I did not manage to record on videos. As I was about to complete my notes, Callum came back with lunch and said: "I'm gonna go outside, it's quite nice out there".

Potters at the Leach have a half hour lunch break or can take a longer break and finish later. The schedule is not generally strict and everyone is responsible for their own working time. Potters are assessed on their skills, enthusiasm and general contribution to the team. One of the advantages of working in a group is the potters receive constant feedback on their work. This is often informal, it comes from everyone in the workshop and also from the staff selling their work in the shop.

I followed Callum and sat on the benches by the water stream in the garden, at the back of the clay shed. Roelof soon joined us and the conversation shifted freely from work to

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50 LP89. Roelof's comment echoes Bernard Leach's remarks about the limited skills in brushwork among Westerners (1978: p.117).

Figure 5.15 Roelof Uys adjusting the burners at the back of the kiln (photo: 27 Apr 2016).

Figure 5.16 Britta Wengeler-James's personal range of tableware (photo: leachpottery.blogspot.jp, accessed 10/10/2017).

Figure 5.17 Standard ware jugs made by Britta Wengeler-James, incorporating her characteristic roulette patterns (photo: 25 July 2016).

politics and other news. Anecdotes and other details gathered during breaks and after work completed the information I collected more formally in the workshop. It also gave me opportunities to engage in wider conversations, explain my research and develop closer relationships with the potters.

5.3.7 Jordan on his personal work

It was a sunny afternoon and operations took off again slowly after lunch. Britta started turning some of her personal pots whilst the others continued their previous tasks. Jordan had only a few days left in the pottery[51] and was not working on the standard range anymore. He was keeping an eye on the kiln outside in which many of his personal pots were being fired (Figure 5.14). It is customary to allow a volunteer to produce a body of work which is then sold in the shop at the end of his or her residency. Because of his visa, Jordan could not sell his work or earn money whilst staying in the UK, but his new pots would be sold in the shop after his departure.

On my first few days, I had noticed the same couple of people offering the morning or the afternoon round, driven more by courtesy than formal arrangement. I had started to make coffee and tea for the team to show my gratitude and give the potters another reason to appreciate my presence on site[52]. This simple gesture gave us something to comment on and made me feel more accepted as one of the team. I also enjoyed spending some time in the kitchen to observe the pots being used by the Leach staff, made in the workshop by the resident potters and other visitors over the years[53].

I was distributing hot drinks when Jordan came back from the kiln shed with one of his large vases.

"This one is cracked, badly".

He looked disappointed. One of his large Korean-style coiled vases developed a curved dunt on one side. We tried to guess the cause of the crack, which didn't follow the coiling

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51 Canadian potter Jordan Scott had spent about 10 months at the pottery as a volunteer.

52 Everybody expected a good cup of coffee from an Italian, and I had in fact brought with me some quality beans, a coffee machine and a hand grinder.

53 Unfortunately, the pottery did not collect the range of tableware produced under Jack Doherty, and the only surviving pieces were seconds scattered across the three kitchens on site.

lines. The glaze also showed major shivering[54]. Dunting and shivering typically originate in stress in the clay during firing and cooling. We did not arrive to a definite conclusion on what caused the problem but I realised our brief exchange was a precious collective moment for the potters to share the best of their knowledge and test their understanding of materials and processes.

5.3.8 Firing with Roelof

Outside the workshop, Roelof had started to pay more attention to the kiln (Figure 5.15). He checked the firing notes the team had taken during the day, indicating the temperatures at the front and back at regular intervals. Cone 8 was down[55] and reduction had started. No visible smoke came out of the chimney but long flames burst out of the spyhole every time Roelof removed a brick to check the cones and the colour of the fire. I started by asking him about the old oil kiln in the museum, but the conversation quickly shifted to the way the team was managed and his take on division of labour.

> *"I mean, there were methods that I think they practiced here that I don't agree with, I think it didn't work"*[56]*, he said about the historical workshop managed by Bernard and Janet Leach.*
>
> *"Like what?", I asked.*
>
> *"Oh I don't want to, you know… Like the way they made the pots so every pot was made through by the maker", he explained.*
>
> *"With the same person working on the same piece?".*
>
> *"Yeah, I don't agree with that", he checked the dampers at the back of the kiln.*
>
> *"That was the original…".*
>
> *"Yeah, I think that's, yeah...that's Dickensian". He said while adjusting the burners.*
>
> *After a short pause, he continued. "You know, I find Henry Ford was right. The division of labour works".*
>
> *"That was Arts and Crafts, yeah? It comes straight from that model". I said, referring to Bernard Leach's views.*
>
> *"Yeah but if you want to run a business, if you want to make, you can still have the*

54 This is a common issue due to a lower expansion rate of the clay body than the glaze, which makes the glaze 'peel off' the surface.

55 Pyrometric cones are used to measure the heat in the kiln during firing. Cone 8 melts at approx. 1250 °C.

56 LP87.

> *same standard of living and the same kind of working environment but you could do it more efficiently. I think that is the most inefficient way of working. I mean I think there are some benefits to that but I think actually…"*[57].

Roelof believed he could run an efficient workshop and teach everybody all-round skills without having a potter solely in charge of each pot. Some specialisation meant everyone had a chance to become proficient at any one operation at the time. Tasks could be tailored to potters' skills. In the long run potters would naturally move from one main task to another and eventually acquire all the necessary knowledge and ability to control the entire process.

> *"I mean, we're only three years into this workshop, you know, with me as the current senior potter and so I might still be proven wrong but I think our method is better. It'll probably in the long term result in better stability for the pottery, because everybody has been trained gradually to know all the jobs. So we don't specialise but we do... When we work we do divide labour because it just means you can do a lot more, a lot quicker"*[58].

He opened a spyhole and checked the cones again. It was already past 5pm and most staff had left. We took the temperature on the pyrometers and noticed it was lower than expected. The kiln had to soak a bit longer, so we went on talking about homemade equipment and woodfiring in Africa.

5.3.9 Laurence and Britta making their own work

It was dark when the firing ended, and only Laurence and Britta were still working indoors. Laurence was making some ramekins of his own design, to sell in an upcoming ceramic fair in Dorset. He had developed an ingenious way to make handles by cutting a thick ring of clay on the rim with a turning tool, leaving only two sections which will form the handles. He showed me a video on his phone, which he had just uploaded on Instagram.

Britta was at her wheel, turning some deep bowls, which formed part of her range of tableware. The style of her personal work was noticeably different from the pots she made for the Leach. The forms were more rigid and tooled, and the clay appeared lighter in colour (Figure 5.16). Her toned-down monochromatic glazes ranged from celadons to beiges. The liveliness of the pieces derived from the decoration with clay roulettes she had

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57 This model is allegedly still used by Jim Keeling and his team of 30 potters at Whichford Pottery, modelled on the old country pottery at Wrecclesham (Keeling, 2004).

58 LP87.

made herself[59].

> *"People sometimes ask me "how do you measure it that comes out always the same way?"".*

Pressing a roulette all around the rim of a large deep dish, she showed me how the end of the decoration simply overlapped with the start.

> *"I say "it doesn't". I think if I would like to do this millimetre work... so it looks like this", she pointed at the overlap. "Just to smoothen over a bit, nobody would actually really notice if it's there".*

The graphic spontaneity of the incisions contrasted with the exactness of her shapes and surfaces.

> *"The other thing is I never measure the distance between those lines. With this it's more a coincidence when it fits"*[60].

Britta's rouletting technique had entered the new Leach standard range, where it was sometimes used to make a decorated band at the bottom of the large jugs (Figure 5.17). The handle was in part inspired by the historical jugs made at the Lake's pottery in Truro.

5.3.10 In the library

I eventually left the potters and went back to Beagle Cross. After dinner I went down to the library to write my fieldnotes. Like any other evening at the end of a day on site, I made a backup of all the material collected and typed down any relevant information I had noticed, starting with details I knew I had not captured on camera.

Sitting at the large wooden desk, I was surrounded by three walls of shelves about pottery, Bernard Leach and oriental ceramics. Part of the archive was donated by Emmanuel Cooper and included old exhibitions and standard ware catalogues. I made myself a tea in a soda-fired mug and updated the process matrix with everything I had collected on site up to then. The gaps suggested new questions for the potters and other operations to film on the following days.

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59 Britta learned the technique in New Zealand, whilst working for Petra Meyboden of Puketai Pottery, near Barry Brickell's Driving Creek Railway and Pottery in Coromandel town.

60 LP14.

5.4 'A day in the life' at Maze Hill Pottery

5.4.1 Talking to Florian

The pottery building is a short walk from busy Trafalgar Road, nestled against the railway lines at the end of a leafy residential street in Greenwich, London. I arrived just after the 10am opening time. Florian welcomed me at the door.

"Ah it's you. Lisa is not here yet".

I took out my camera and tripod, and put my bag away at the back of the workshop, by the large electric kiln. Florian was tidying up from the class he had given the night before, moving five large boards of students' pots to racks on the walls.

"I saw your article on Ceramic Review"[61]*, I said.*

"Did you like it?", he asked while wiping surfaces with a wet cloth. We talked about his recent posts on Instagram; he mentioned a commission from a gallery. I started to take some pictures of the workshop and asked about the kiln outside.

"It's about 600 at the moment, we'll keep an eye on it".

I asked permission and went outside to check the kiln and take some photos. Shelves cover all walls at Maze Hill, even outside in the garden, with hundreds of pots of various shapes, sizes and stages in the making. The work table was clear but kiln shelves and props were still lying around the kiln. The pyrometer read 624 °C and I could see pots in the kiln chamber warming up to a red colour. Earlier that morning, Lisa had noted down the temperature in the kiln book and left it on the little concrete steps leading to the railway tracks at the back of the property. The temperature had gone up steadily from 375 °C at 7:30am.

Back in the workshop Florian had started turning his jugs (Figure 5.18), a simple design consisting of a straight cylinder with a small pulled spout[62]. He fixed one upright with

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61 Florian's article about his work and success on Instagram was published on Issue 280 (Caddy, 2016).

62 Florian's method of pulling spouts is one of the few techniques he was conscious of having learned from Lisa. She showed him how to shape them with his index and medium fingers instead of the more common index and thumb combination. He believed the technique resulted in a more even thickness (MH04).

Figure 5.18 Florian turning one of his jugs and using his mirror to check the back of the pot (photo: 26 May 2017).

Figure 5.19 Florian Gadsby throwing his jug on the wheel and following the profile of the pot in the mirror. The pointer is also clearly visible on his left (photo: 25 May 2017).

a bit of water directly on the wheel-head, and turned the sides to achieve a straight and smooth surface. He then flipped the cylinder rim down, and turned the base accurately. He had only prepared seven jugs and a few other cups to turn. He proceeded carefully but confidently, without any rush. A line of bowls covered another shelf on the right.

I asked him about his characteristic crystalline glazes.

> *"It's based on a Chinese recipe, Guan glaze, which is basically a crackle glaze".*
>
> *"Is that something you liked in other pots?" I asked.*
>
> *"I always liked the kind of Song Dynasty Guan ware, and I…". We heard the door opening and Lisa's dog Mazey running inside.*
>
> *"Ah you're here", said Lisa. "I forgot you were coming".*

We made some tea and we shared the croissants I had brought.

5.4.2 Earning my time at the pottery

Lisa asked me about my course and what I wanted to do afterwards. She appeared to be more interested in making than studying pots, but she thought some of my research might be useful for her charity, Adopt A Potter[63]. At the time, they were trying to map all the potters working in the UK[64].

I explained, once again, that for my research I needed to be in the pottery and observe them at work, occasionally filming and asking questions. I also reminded her I was keen to get involved in workshop tasks.

> *"That'd be useful because Pish can't come today[65]".*

She went to the storage room and came back with long gardening shears and thick gloves.

> *"I've got to cut some twigs outside", she explained.*
>
> *"Can I help?", I offered.*

She paused for a moment, "Yes, actually" and showed me what she wanted to do in the garden. I spent the next hour eradicating reeds and pruning a small tree which was getting

63 Lisa founded the charity in 2009 with the aim to help students "wishing to make functional and studio pots to have the opportunity of an apprenticeship with an experienced professional potter" (www.adoptapotter.org.uk/, accessed 3/10/17).

64 Research Journal, 9 June 2016.

65 Lisa is often assisted for short periods by volunteers who help with daily tasks in exchange for practical experience. Pishun Tantivangphaisal was at the pottery at the time.

dangerously close to pots on shelves. I filled two large sacks with garden waste and placed them by the back door. Florian was throwing tall cylindrical jugs at his wheel (Figure 5.19).

Lisa once wrote that having an apprentice made time for throwing and developing new work[66] but during my visits she would spend most of the day at her laptop. At the time she was busy collecting funds for Clay College Stoke, her latest charitable project[67]. She complained she had not thrown anything in weeks, despite having to exhibit at fairs and solo exhibitions[68]. She visibly disliked answering emails and working on a computer all day.

Florian came back from the kiln and shouted:

"It's 850 degrees".

"Right, let's have lunch, shall we?", said Lisa.

5.4.3 Lunch at Maze Hill

Florian and I cleared the large table in the middle of the room. I went to fetch some chairs while Florian set the table and took food out of the fridge. I shared some bread and cheese I had brought, and tried Florian's purple coleslaw. All food was served in Maze Hill seconds and pots made by Lisa's previous apprentices. I drank water in a mug by Yoji Yamada, and Florian used one by Darren Ellis.

"Darren's are straight and have an angle, whereas I try to make a curve".

He made me notice the different profiles of the mugs. Lisa updated Florian on the funding campaign for the new college and on some meetings with donors. We talked about my recent trip to Japan and she suggested potters I may want to visit in the Mino area.

I offered to wash up and Florian made us tea. The sink is in a narrow inset surrounded by racks and shelves packed with more tableware, all decorated with Lisa's characteristic soda finish. The plates are relatively thick but well balanced. The liner glaze inside the vessels makes them easy to clean. The orange peel and rough surfaces allowed me to handle the ware securely even when wet. A marked crackle emerged on some pots with use, but I only

66 Hammond and Thom, 2002: p.49.

67 A successful campaign led to the opening of the school in September 2017 in Middleport Pottery in Stoke-on-Trent. The school offers a full-time two-year course for 14 students, alongside evening classes and masterclasses by prominent potters (www.claycollegestoke.co.uk, accessed 3/10/2017).

68 I recorded comments on her lack of time at the wheel in my fieldnotes in December 2016.

found a couple that were chipped[69].

I was served my coffee in a narrow mug with a handle which started flush with the rim.

> *"That's Svend's[70]", explained Florian.*

He liked its "chunky" handle. We talked about how his own mugs are thinly thrown but the handles are relatively thick. He explained:

> *"The weight of the handle… it's not a thin handle. I find it really comfortable. They're not for everyone. Some people like the fineness of thin pottery"[71].*

5.4.4 Observing Florian at the wheel

After lunch, the temperature in the kiln had risen to 980 °C. The firing atmosphere relies on a delicate balance among the opening of the dampers, the pressure of the gas and the amount of air entering from the two burners. We still had a few hours before the soda firing but Lisa was preparing for reduction.

In the workshop, Florian was quickly kneading about 20 balls of pink stoneware clay (he calls it "liver colour")[72] straight from a plastic bag[73]. I had my tripod set up and made a video of him kneading and balling up the clay.

He sat at his wheel and measured 10.5 cm with a small metal ruler to set the gauge. His pouring bowl was full of water at room temperature and a square piece of leather lay on its rim. He adjusted the mirror, picked a ball of clay from the plastic bucket and threw it on the slowly-spinning wheel-head. The wheel faced the wall and there was not enough space for my DSLR camera. So I placed my smaller camera on the board by the wall to achieve my standard 7 o'clock angle[74]. I checked the camera view remotely on my phone and made

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69 The evolution of qualities with use is discussed in Section 6.6.4.

70 Svend Bayer is a renowned potter and a friend of Lisa's. He gave weekend masterclasses at Maze Hill Pottery in 2012, 2013, and 2014, and the mug was likely made by him during a demonstration on site.

71 MH03.

72 Research Journal, 18 Dec 2016.

73 Florian uses Scarva's Earthstone clay. The potters use their own choice of clay for their personal work. Even if Florian mixes the different bodies for Lisa, he only made a few tests with her clay and she had never used Florian's clay before I observed her throwing with it in May 2017.

74 In all videos of potters at the wheel I aimed to achieve the same view, discussed in Section 3.2.5.4.

Figure 5.20 The outdoor workspace at Maze Hill. The boiler contains the steaming soda mix, ready for the firing (photo: 18 Feb 2016).

Figure 5.21 A blue Maze Hill mug was used to pour bicarbonate of soda into the boiling water (photo: 25 May 2017).

small adjustments[75]. Before he could finish the first mug cylinder, I had started filming and was taking photos of the setup with the DSLR. I asked him about the mirror.

> *"I can't throw without it, it feels kind of weird, like I'm missing one of my main tools", he told me. "I never look at it to actually throw. I find myself glancing at it sometimes, just to check like if the side view looks all right, if that makes sense. Sometimes when I pull the walls up I look at it, just to see how much height I'm getting, but generally it's just a check[76]".*

He was surprised not many people threw with it. I said, "I'm going to leave you alone so I can film you throw without interruption". I looked around. On the other side of the room, Lisa was sitting at the long table just behind her wheel. She seemed immersed in her task. I did not want to disturb so I went outside to check the kiln. When I went back in, I found her talking to some customers who were browsing the pots on display at the entrance.

> *"Did you see the kiln?" Florian asked me the temperature.*
>
> *"Yes, it's 1240 at the front".*
>
> *"Oh, we should check the cones then".*

He quickly added two more cylinders to the others on the board, all placed perfectly in line as in the style of his Instagram posts. The board went in the only empty slot on the wall just above his wheel. He wiped his hands on a towel and we went outside.

5.4.5 Preparing the soda

The actions required for firing at Maze Hill are marked by the melting of pyrometric cones. Reduction starts at cone 06, just above 1000 ˚C. The potters start to prepare the soda mix at cone 7, and the spraying starts at cone 8.

From my last firing back in February, I knew we had to boil the water in the kettles in the workshop inside, and mix the soda with the hot water in the large boiler in the courtyard. Florian placed a black bin bag on the table, then the boiler on top of it, tilted by a brick at the back so the water would run more easily from the front tap (Figure 5.20).

> *He suggested "get some gloves so you don't burn your hands off".*

I asked where they had bought the soda.

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75 The smaller camera can be controlled remotely using a phone application. This allowed me to check the view without having to physically look into the viewfinder at the back of the camera.

76 MH02.

Figure 5.22 Florian Gadsby checking the left side of the kiln (photo: 18 Feb 2016).

Figure 5.23 The kiln book at Maze Hill, at the end of a firing. It records temperatures at regular intervals, tallies for soda sprayings, and the times of key actions such as the beginning of reduction, spraying of soda and salt (photo: 18 Feb 2016).

"It's just bicarbonate of soda, it's what you put in Chinese food".

Next to the soda bucket lay a pack of Italian 'sale grosso' normally used for cooking pasta. About half a kilo of salt would be added to the mix at the end of the firing.

"It's pretty dramatic", said Florian. I nodded. "Yeah, the salt is quite exciting, that bit".

"Do we need to tally the sprayings?", I remembered.

"Write down how much salt you're putting in roughly and in how many sprays".

"Ok, yeah".

"That's all you really have to keep note of, and it's just… If you forget it's quite annoying because it's quite crucial to know how many sprays you've done".

The water started to boil again, the temperature in the kiln was going up and cone 8 was melting down. Lisa came outside, ready for the firing. She told me to lift the boiler's lid from the back first, counter-intuitively, to avoid getting burned by the steam. The firing procedure is safe if done correctly, following a complex series of actions honed down over Lisa's 30 years of experience and hundreds of firings. And yet every time notes are taken, experiments are made, results are discussed and procedures corrected again and again.

Lisa poured the white powder in the water using one of her medium blue mugs (Figure 5.21), which reminded me that even handcrafted pots maintain their use value as basic containers. Florian and I were washing and testing the sprayers. We swapped a faulty one with another one in the workshop. Our movements were not rushed but the excitement was palpable.

A crate with 'seconds' was on the shelf above the table, next to a dirty mug that had clearly been taken from the kitchen. Florian took it back inside. Clean aprons were hanging under the roof by the unused trolley kiln, waiting for the weather to get drier. Smaller personal pots of Lisa's awaited grinding and cleaning on another shelf. Next to them some creamers were left out from the last firing and would likely go in the next kiln load. They were placed upside down and had wadding glued on the foot with PVA, an operation I had observed on my previous visit.

5.4.6 Spraying the soda

Florian went to the side of the kiln, took a brick off and looked inside (Figure 5.22).

Figure 5.24 Lisa Hammond spraying the soda mix into the spy hole at the front of her gas kiln (photo: 18 Feb 2016).

Figure 5.25 Test rings cooling down on the concrete steps. They are used to check the amount of soda reacting with the slip and the colour of the clay, which is affected by the reducing atmosphere in the kiln (photo: 17 June 2016).

"Cone 8 is totally down", he said to Lisa.

She replied, "Ok, let's start".

The front pyrometer read 1244 °C and I saw Florian noting it down. The kiln book was still on the steps and a few drops of rain started to fall on it, but we were all immersed in our tasks (Figure 5.23). The potters did not seem bothered by the weather, even if they knew it would affect the firing.

We loaded the sprayers with the hot mix. Lisa grabbed one off me and reminded me how the spraying was done. The sprayers are used symmetrically at the front and back of the kiln, then refilled and emptied again at the same time. Two people are required for the task.

"Florian, you go at the back", she said and started spraying at the front. She lifted her left foot on some kiln shelves and rested her arms on her lap, assuming a comfortable position she could keep for a few minutes each time (Figure 5.24).

Florian at the back soon shouted "finished". He closed the hole with a brick and ran to the boiler to refill his sprayer. Lisa was still spraying hers. I kept updating the tallies on the kiln book. After about three cycles she handed me her sprayer and some sunglasses. Dark lenses are recommended as one needs to stare at the fire for long periods of time. She lighted a cigarette and went to smoke on the concrete steps, in the drizzle.

I remembered I should avoid directing the jet towards the pots, so I aimed at the corner of the first brick inside the kiln chamber. I asked Lisa if that was correct.

"Actually, the middle is better" she explained. Aiming at the left would affect the pots too heavily, whilst on the right it would dissolve too quickly. I was surprised by the accuracy required for the operation, performed in working conditions which could appear casual at times. But Lisa knew exactly how her actions would affect the atmosphere in the different areas in the kiln and by then she could rely on Florian's understanding of the process, for further discussion and verification.

Florian and I entered a routine of spraying soda at the same time, asking how each other was doing, checking the temperature rise on the pyrometer, emptying the sprayers and filling them up again. I told Lisa I could see a pot in balance on the edge of a shelf, almost falling. She replied there wasn't much we could do about it, just hope it would fall on the

side and not on other pots. We kept on spraying, one bottle after the other, taking notes and making small comments. Lisa occasionally opened the spy holes on the sides and looked directly into the kiln.

5.4.7 Adding salt to the mix

"Shall we take a ring out?" asked Florian, after about 10 spraying cycles.

Lisa took a long metal rod which was lying behind her and in a few seconds she hooked a small incandescent clay ring from inside the kiln and placed it carefully on the concrete steps (Figure 5.25). The rain had stopped but the steps were still wet.

A number of test rings are used alongside standard pyrometric cones to check the build-up of soda on the pots and the colours of the clay, which indicates the level of reduction. Florian took another ring from the opposite side of the kiln. It reminded me of similar tests at the anagama firing in Oxford[77].

"It's heavily reduced".

Lisa explained the pot I had seen earlier had probably fallen. The brick they had placed to protect the front of the kiln from direct flames was also obstructing the air flow on one side. The kiln was reducing heavily in the middle, and not as much at the bottom. Noting the slip on the test ring was looking a bit 'dry', Florian suggested starting with the salt.

I opened the lid of the boiler from the back. Florian added half a kilo of salt and a thick white foam formed instantly. We filled the sprayers and went back to the kiln. I removed the brick from the spy hole and started to spray again. A more violent crackle replaced the soft noise made by the soda instantly evaporating in the chamber. White smoke came out of the chimney and we could taste salt in the air. Lisa's fascination with atmospheric kilns started with salt firing at college and she eventually added some salt to her soda process. Not only does the salt add interest to the smooth surfaces, it is also reminiscent of her training history[78].

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77 Master kiln builder Takuma Takikawa used small press-moulded sculptures alongside rings of clay to test the build-up of ash in the firing of the anagama kiln in Oxford (Research Journal, 18 Jan 2016).

78 In an article in *Ceramic Review*, Lisa once wrote "Only the merest puff of smoke can be seen at the end of the firing when I put a handful of salt in the kiln as perhaps a superstitious act, kiln offering or stubborn connection with my past" (Hammond, 1999: p.20-23).

After about three sprayings with the soda-salt mix, the test rings confirmed the glaze was satisfactory. Lisa would still soak the kiln for two more hours, from cone 10 to cone 11 half down, but by then not much further action was required.

Florian left and I stayed with her a bit longer. Lisa and I continued to talk about making and firing. The rain had started again and it was getting dark. By 9pm we were tired and there was not much left for me to do on site. I saw Lisa staring at the fire, and decided to leave her alone. I took my camera and bags, and she came to lock the door behind me. Walking back the alleyway, I could hear the crackling noise and see the heat coming off the chimney, beyond the high fence.

5.5 Conclusions

The accounts described in this chapter illustrate the level of engagement with the potters which was used to record information on their processes. Events were captured on site as they occurred, either experienced without interference or elicited through conversations. The effectiveness of ethnographic methods in recording procedures, interactions and explanations is apparent. The level of detail achieved through ethnographic exposure to methods and interpretations was superior to those recorded in more formal interviews, and compares positively with descriptions of processes based on recollections and oral history (e.g. Harrod, 2003). Despite their merits, these latter approaches ultimately lack the contingency of direct experience required for a study of contemporary pottery practice.

Conducting fieldwork with the potters enabled the observation of multiple making methods and approaches concurrently employed in a workshop by members of a team, and the recording of multiple interpretations of those methods. Differences in technological styles observed at the Leach Pottery inspired comparisons among participants in the other two workshops, where discrepancies were at first less apparent. This shaped the development of the study and eventually resulted in the contribution discussed in Section 9.1.

On site, a balance was required between gathering the material identified as missing from the process matrix, and allowing for any deviation which could lead to important explanations, or even unexpected revelations. This skill was learned during the first few

months on site, and honed down by the dual process of transcribing conversations and conducting further visits to the potteries.

Descriptions of the pots provided by the potters started to identify key elements and qualities, and informed the assessment of salience. Physical differences among tableware ranges are not simply explained through aesthetic and mechanical considerations, but are the product of cultural contexts and personal choices, through the material transformation dictated by the potters' unique conditions of work (as observed by Lechtman, 1977).

Themes and other findings emerging from fieldwork were tested and completed in subsequent visits to the workshops. Further reflections on making methods were produced by attempting to reproduce the mugs by following procedures and techniques as close as possible to those observed. The extent of the material generated during fieldwork required extensive transcribing and coding, which provided the initial 'situated analysis' of all material which, in turn, influenced subsequent fieldwork.

At Ewenny, the potters were eager to emphasise the heritage of the workshop and their traditional methods of making, but their words also revealed numerous innovative changes in the design and production of the range. Chapter 7 discusses these apparent contradictions through further examples collected on site.

The experience at the Leach was crucial in shaping the study and generating key findings. The size and structure of the team enabled the collection of multiple interpretations of the same operations as they were performed by the various potters, highlighting the importance of personal training history, attitude and experience.

At Maze Hill, Florian offered a window into his apprenticeship. Firing the kiln with him and Lisa in multiple occasions allowed the observation of team work, and helped familiarise with the soda firing process which is the focus of the tableware produced at the pottery.

These distinct cultural contexts shape the tableware ranges discussed in the study. Qualities and narratives emerged from the conversations collected on site informed a more systematic analysis of the material collected through all methods, including video and reflection. The next chapters present the findings of the analysis.

6. Qualities

> *"One might conclude that there is not much to a mug, just a cylinder with a handle. It would seem an easy form for the potter to master. But the form has its subtleties. The cylinder of the mug can be given various distinctive emphases, either barrel-shaped, straight-sided, or convex. The nature of the trimming, the finger marks, the treatment of the lip, and the overall proportion and scale give the potter scope for invention"*
>
> *(Rhodes, 1978: p.134).*

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the design and manufacturing qualities of the tableware produced by the three case study workshops, including a detailed examination of the mug typology. The apparent simplicity of the mug can reveal a rich array of qualities and design considerations, in common with other tableware products. Much space is left for historical references, cultural and personal expression, within and outside the realm of functionality which drives the designs.

The study shares potters' interest in discussing design and manufacturing aspects of their work, exemplified by the quote above. Rhodes is writing about pottery form, but similar considerations can also be made about materials, surface treatment and firing methods.

Edmund De Waal describes his appreciation of pots as a maker:

> *"[...] I am good on pots. I can remember the weight and balance of a pot, and how its surface works with its volume. I can read how an edge creates tension or loses it. I can feel it if it has been made at speed or with diligence. If it has warmth" (2010: p.16).*

Comparable considerations are used here to assess the pots made by the three workshops. The focus is on defining manufacturing qualities as intended by the master potters who designed the pots and perceived by those who make them, and this distinction informs the analysis of salience in Chapter 8.

For Alfred Gell, "the first step which has to be taken in devising an anthropology of art is to make a complete break with aesthetics" (2009: p.210). This discussion is based on the inclusive assumption that qualities can be described independently from one's personal

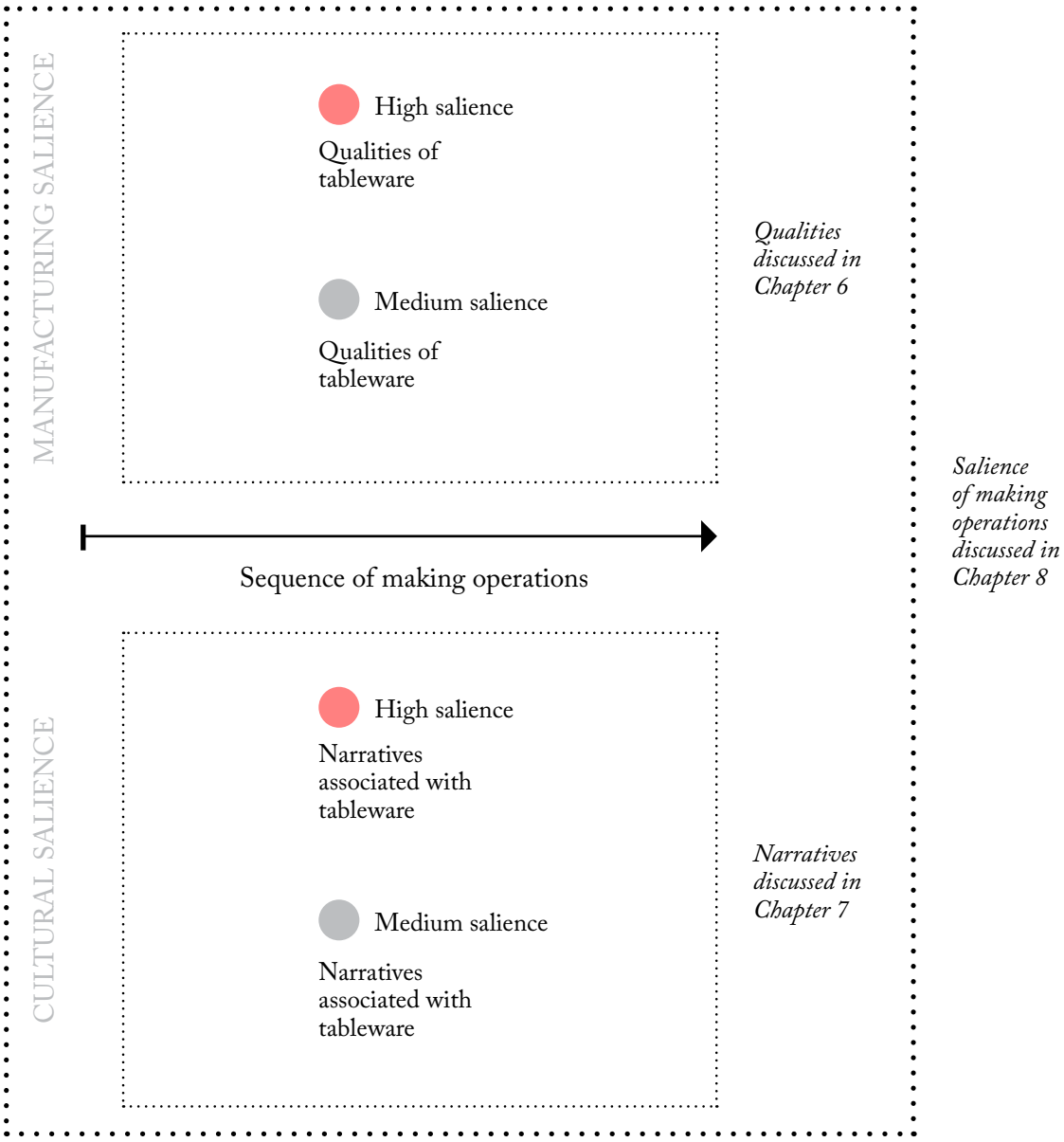

Figure 6.1 Summary of the relationship among the content of chapters 6, 7 and 8.

sense of taste. The study examines key physical characteristics described by the potters or observed in the pots.

Adopting Bourdieu's terminology, this chapter is concerned with pottery as *modus operatum* (1977: p.1), i.e. it looks at tableware products in terms of their physical properties and appearance, similarly to descriptions found in catalogues and marketing material. This is conducted in close relationship with the potters' *modus operandi*, as the examination of the pots' aesthetic styles is enriched - or even made possible - by the findings on making processes derived from the multiple methods employed in the study. The resolution of the insights testifies the effectiveness of the research approach in identifying the intricate network of choices and actions, and find their manifestation in tangible design and manufacturing characteristics.

As summarised in the diagram in Figure 6.1, Chapters 6 to 8 present the findings of the study and are closely interlinked. This chapter on qualities forms a pair with Chapter 7 on narratives, and together they are the basis for the analysis of the operational sequence presented in Chapter 8, in which both qualities and narratives are linked to salient moments in the making.

After introducing the ranges produced in each workshop in general terms, the examination begins with a formal description of key elements identified in the mug designs, and the qualities achieved by the potters in their execution. As explained in Section 1.3.9, the mug typology offered focus for detailed discussions and enabled direct comparisons across cases. The relative simplicity of the typology also enabled the collection of feedback and inspired personal reflections on the direct experience of the processes.

Within each range, mugs share with other tableware the choice of materials, design considerations, general making procedure and aesthetic style. Similarities in design and methods observed across typologies within each range make the mug an effective typology for the analysis of qualities of other products, and this partly explains its importance at the Leach and Maze Hill for training new apprentices (LP01, MH03). Operations not required for the making of mugs (e.g. turning the foot, making spouts or adding a lid) were also observed, and the insights complete the descriptions of qualities. The aim is not to map all processes performed for all typologies, rather to discuss key qualities of hand-thrown

tableware through the example of the mug. This contributes to addressing the aims of the study set out in Section 1.2.1 and answering the research question RQ1: "What key design and manufacturing qualities characterise contemporary British hand-thrown tableware?".

6.1.1 Identifying qualities

In interviews and conversations, direct comments on the qualities of the ware were harder to elicit than biographical material, or explanations and interpretations of processes. A reluctance to translate the appreciation of objects in words on site echoed the scarcity of detailed descriptions identified in literature on pottery, alleviated by extensive use of photos (see Section 2.2). Arguably, there is no incentive to offer elaborate verbal descriptions when the physical presence of pots is best suited to illustrate their qualities.

Direct questions were often necessary to collect relevant comments, e.g. "I just wanted to ask you about the qualities that define these pots. What do you try to achieve [by] making these?" (LP18) or, more specifically, "what makes a good handle?" (MH16). At Ewenny, Caitlin once described pots on the shelves in the shop (EP14). She had previously mentioned an anecdote about Emmanuel Cooper visiting the Royal College of Art and presenting students with a pot by Bernard Leach. She attracted hostility by admitting she did not like the pot (EP08). So, the conversation started by asking her what she did not like about it and gradually shifted to the characteristics she desired for her own ware (EP14).

Discussing quality control operations elicited important characteristics the potters wanted to achieve in their ware. This was crucial at the Leach, where division of labour instigated more explicit references to design elements and standards of execution. Across cases, descriptions of making marks were relatively prominent in conversations, and qualities referred more to the 'appearance' of pots than tactile appreciation of weight and feel.

As described in Section 3.2.9.3, a code to theory analysis was conducted on all transcripts. Coding transcripts for qualities identified generic categories such as 'good' or 'bad', 'desired shape', 'desired size', 'simple' and 'comfortable' [Appendix C.1]. More specific comments were also recorded: e.g. references to 'shiny' and 'reflective' surfaces at Ewenny, 'loose' and

'soft' shapes[1] at the Leach, or 'strong' and 'durable' bodies at Maze Hill. Frequency does not necessarily indicate the salience of a particular reference, as even a single expression may capture a concept effectively. For example, the word 'clinical' was used only once by Lisa Hammond to indicate the risk of over-ribbing the walls of pots, as typically done by production potters in Stoke on Trent (MH06) but it was important to understand the standards she sets for her apprentices.

6.1.2 Properties and qualities

The study acknowledges Tim Ingold's view that properties are not attributes intrinsic to objects, but continually emergent 'histories' (2011: p.32; quoted in Ingold, 2013: p.30). However this analysis follows the pragmatic distinction made by David Pye between "objective, defined and measurable" properties and the subjective, "indefinable qualities which are the stuff of visual art" (1995: p.56).

In this sense, a pot's weight expressed in grams is a property, whereas its sense of heaviness or lightness in relation to its appearance can only be described qualitatively. In line with the ways in which pots are judged and described in the workshops, the sections below mostly engage with the qualities of pottery, rather than its properties. Measures and specifications, however, enable direct comparison across products, and for this purpose they are summarised in diagrams and tables.

6.2 Qualities of Ewenny ware

6.2.1 The Ewenny tableware range

6.2.1.1 Typologies and general description

In 2016, the range produced at the Ewenny pottery consisted of tableware products and other functional ware such as candlesticks, candle holders, oil burners, tealights and two vase designs. The potters also made pieces on commission which often incorporated sliptrailed or sgraffito inscriptions in English or Welsh, written by Caitlin or Jayne. Caitlin

1 Hand-thrown tableware forms are described as 'soft' when they retain signs of the plasticity of the clay, e.g. in the fluidity of throwing rings or pulled handles. This 'softness' is accentuated in the Leach range (e.g. by throwing faster on a slower wheel) and is less visible in the Ewenny and Maze Hill ranges.

Figure 6.2 A selection of Ewenny tableware presented on their website (photo: ewennypottery.com accessed 23 Oct 2017)

Figure 6.3 A selection of Ewenny ware, including a yellow beer tankard (photo: ewennypottery.com accessed 23 Oct 2017)

Figure 6.4 Back: a salt pig and a small plate. Front: a lemon squeezer and egg cups (photo: 31 Jan 2018)

Figure 6.5 Goblets come in the same splash glaze combinations as the mugs (photo: 4 Mar 2016)

Figure 6.6 Oil bottle and bowl, examples of new typologies introduced by Caitlin over the years (photo: 4 Mar 2016)

Figure 6.7 Slipware pots were reintroduced to the range by Caitlin (photo: 3 Mar 2016)

made reproductions of historical Ewenny pots such as puzzle jugs, money boxes and a cat sculpture.

The tableware range comprised (see Figures on page 246):

- Small and medium straight mugs;
- Small and medium hot chocolate mugs;
- Wine jugs;
- Coffee pots;
- Wine / water goblets;
- Soup bowls;
- Large fruit bowls with wavy rim;
- Half pint, pint, large and extra large jugs;
- Hufen (cream) jugs;
- Sugar bowls;
- Cwrw (i.e. Welsh for 'beer') tankards;
- Small and medium barrel mugs; and
- Teapots.

All pots were made using earthenware clay and most were glazed with the four characteristic Ewenny splash glazes. A smaller number of pots were decorated with a honey glaze on a white slip background, often incorporating sgraffito words such as Cwrw (Figure 6.3). All tableware was thrown on the wheel and altered as required. The handles had a round section and were pulled directly from the body. All ware was bisque fired, then dipped and splashed in glaze, and fired again in electric kilns at 1100 °C.

6.2.1.2 Formal qualities

As described in Section 5.2.9, when asked directly to describe their ware, Caitlin first pointed at considerations of form and proportions, the elegance of a curve, the 'lift' of a base (EP14). Rather than explaining the designs more broadly, she focused on the curvature of the base of jugs and very minor differences between her father's pots and hers.

Elegance lies in subtleties, and designs appear to be taken for granted, even if in fact Alun redesigned the entire range over the years and Caitlin introduced many of the typologies on display (EP15).

The general appearance of Ewenny ware is smooth and refined. The walls are level but not entirely rippleless. Its handmade character reveals itself in the characteristic softness of hand-thrown pots and pulled handles. Alun described his appreciation for visible hand marks on pots:

> *"If I go around and I look at other potters' works, the first thing you do, you pick up a piece. I tend to run my fingers up the side. It's just a feel, you know, but it's a connection with the man who made it, or the woman who made it. The pot and, you know, the marks. She would have had her fingers on the pot" (EP14).*

The forms are solid and simply composed of basic geometric elements, showing what Rhodes describes as "the power and the reality of simple clay forms" (1978: p.1). The gentle curves are often articulated by a decorative ridge, a foot or a mid-way change of direction (e.g. in the goblets, Figure 6.5).

Alun favours curved lines, to the point that he leaves the making of straight vases to Caitlin (EP14). He expressed his preference with a quote: "curve is a line of beauty, straight is a line of duty[2]". His taste for curves is observed throughout the range, with new typologies and designs introduced by Caitlin following the profiles and proportions seen in older Ewenny ware and Alun's designs (Figure 6.6).

Circular forms are privileged and the wheel is central to the production of all Ewenny tableware. This is matched by the round section of the handles, and their generous loops. Handles are also consistent across the range and are mostly variations on the types used for the mugs (i.e. normal or 'twisted', Figure 6.9).

6.2.1.3 Surface qualities

As one holds an Ewenny pot, the smoothness and warmth of its glazed surfaces become apparent, especially on handle and rim. On the website, the potters proudly specify "Alun and Jayne have continued to develop glazes and designs still maintaining the look of Ewenny" (Ewenny Pottery, 2017). The site also includes a brief description of the method

2 The original quote by architect William McCall is: "Straight is the line of duty; Curved is the line of beauty; Follow the straight line, thou shalt see The curved line ever follow thee".

of glazing, presumably to inform the appreciation of a key characteristic of their ware:

> *"Alun has continued to develop a range of glazes that are uniquely Ewenny, he dips it in one glaze and splashes on another". Also, "The glazes melt together to form the famous mottled decoration" (ibid).*

The slipware pots also show similar characteristics: they are smooth, shiny and reflective (Figure 6.7). Their undecorated surfaces make the proficient execution of the walls and the refined quality of the glazes even more apparent.

6.2.1.4 Weight and balance

Ewenny pots are made of earthenware and this naturally requires thicker edges and rims, which can result in pots heavier than their stoneware counterparts. Thicker pots are more resilient and keep the temperature for longer, as Caitlin observed: "when you drink out of the mug it keeps warm for quite a long time". She praised the weight of the pots and considered them well balanced (EP14).

When held by the foot and struck, the mug emits a muffled ring. This indicates a good level of vitrification of the earthenware body, which makes it more resilient to chipping.

6.2.2 The Ewenny mug

6.2.2.1 Description and specifications

The Ewenny tableware range includes two mug designs: a straight mug with a standard handle and a barrel mug with either a straight handle (Figure 6.8) or the characteristic 'twisted' handle seen on historical Ewenny ware (Figure 6.9). Like most Ewenny tableware, the mugs are decorated with one of four combinations of splash glazes: grey, blue, slate-blue and brown (Figure 6.10). A small portion is decorated by Caitlin with slip in a plain or dotted pattern (Figure 6.11), and can be incised with messages on commission (Figure 6.12).

This section discusses the medium straight mug decorated with splash glaze, shown in Figure 6.10. The design consists of a concave cylinder with an incised 'foot', an outward rim and a loopy handle of round section. It is originally thrown to be 4 ¾ inch high (12 cm), out of 420 g of clay[3], and intended to hold approximately half a pint of liquid (EP15). Its

3 The potters refer to the mug's weight as "1 pound and a bit", the 'bit' being a small mass left on the scales (EP15). See Section 7.2.1.

Figure 6.8 Barrel mug with straight handle, showing throwing marks through the glaze.

Figure 6.9 Straight mug (left) and barrel mug with twisted handle (right) at bisque stage, showing throwing lines and vertical marks left by Jayne when she cleaned them with a metal tool.

Figure 6.10 The medium straight mug made at Ewenny, with (from left): grey, blue, slate blue and brown splash glaze.

Figure 6.11 Straight mug decorated with the dotted slip pattern.

Figure 6.12 An example on display of a commissioned mug decorated with bespoke lettering.

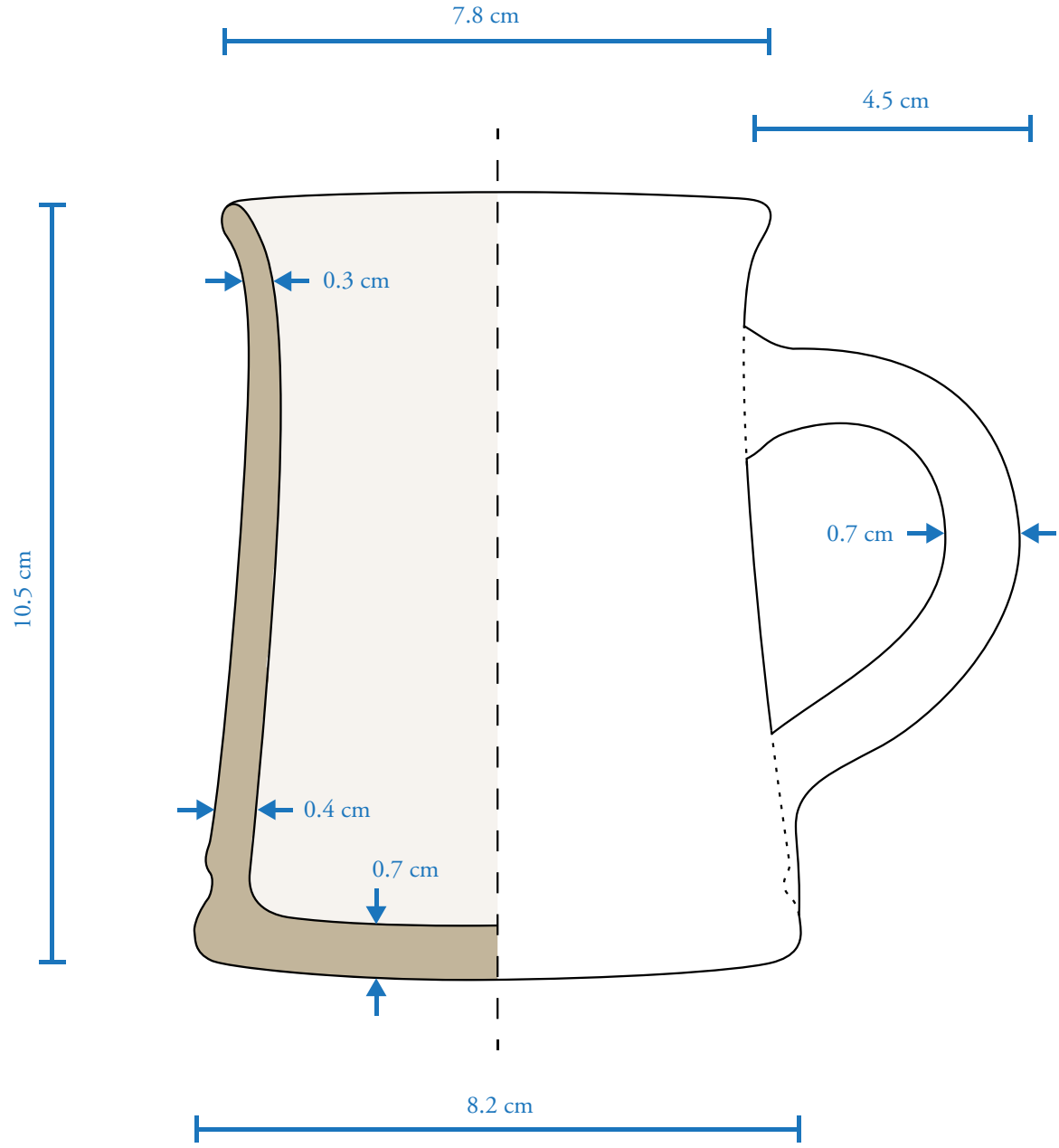

Figure 6.13 Indicative section and profile views of the Ewenny mug, with measurements in cm for direct comparisons with the other case studies.

Weight (fired)	360 g
Material	Earthenware
Glaze type	Lead frit glazes
Firing temperatures	Bisque 1000 °C, glaze 1100 °C
Kiln type	Electric
Capacity	300 ml

Table 6.1 Summary of key specifications of the Ewenny mug.

Figure 6.14 Key design elements and qualities of the Ewenny mug.

final dimensions and thickness at key points are shown in the drawing in Figure 6.13, and key specifications are indicated in Table 6.1.

The shape is evocative of traditional tankards (e.g. see French, 1998: p.41) but the potters made no mention of models other than previous Ewenny pots (the evolution of the mug is outlined in Section 7.4.3).

6.2.2.2 Key elements

The key components of the Ewenny mug are discussed through a formal analysis based on close inspection, accounts provided by the potters and reflections on the attempts to replicate it. Comments on design elements, shapes and finishes were collected over many conversations, often as part of description of processes. Alun and Caitlin did not often describe the mug's key features in explicit terms, but many characteristics of Ewenny tableware came to the foreground in conversations. The mug is an integral part of the range, it has clear formal relations with other typologies (e.g. straight vases and open cups) and shares with them the glaze finishes.

The sections below describe design and manufacturing qualities of the mug's key components, summarised in the diagram in Figure 6.14.

6.2.2.2.1 Walls

The main body is composed of a slightly conical cylinder which narrows towards the top and flares out again into a generous lip. The form emerges from a solid base, where the mug achieves its widest and thickest point. Walls of even thickness form a gently concave profile with the rim, which retains the elegant tension of an essential throwing movement. The upward 'lift' produced by the curve makes the mug look lighter, a quality Caitlin pointed out in conversation (EP14). This natural 'spring' requires the walls to be economically pulled and sponged, and not subsequently collared in or retouched (Figure 6.15). The shape of the profile was easily achieved in the attempts to replicate the Ewenny mug, but the results lacked the dynamic quality of the originals (see Figure 4.18), testament of the skills of the potters.

A subtle undulation can be perceived on the outer walls, which are otherwise smooth and coated in a shiny reflective glaze. More marked 'ribs' can be seen and felt at the lower end of the cylinder, inside, a quality shared with other typologies (EP14).

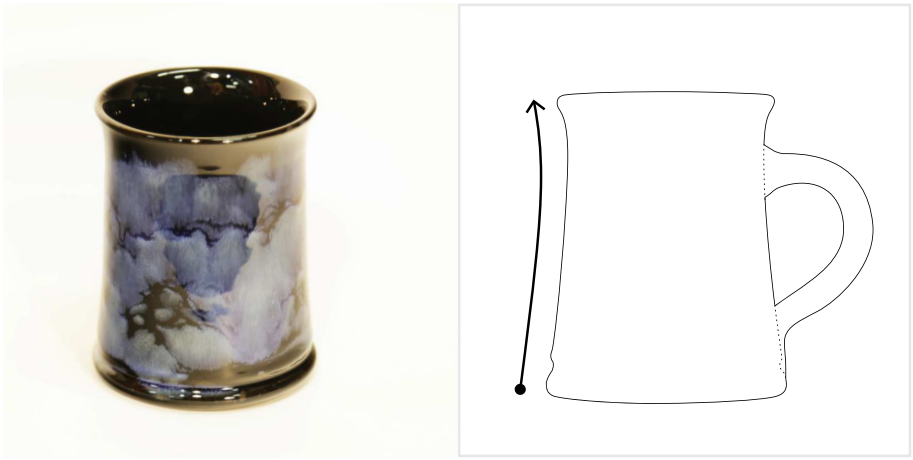

Figure 6.15 Photo and outline drawing of the cylinder of the Ewenny mug. The arrow indicate the direction of the 'lift' of the walls.

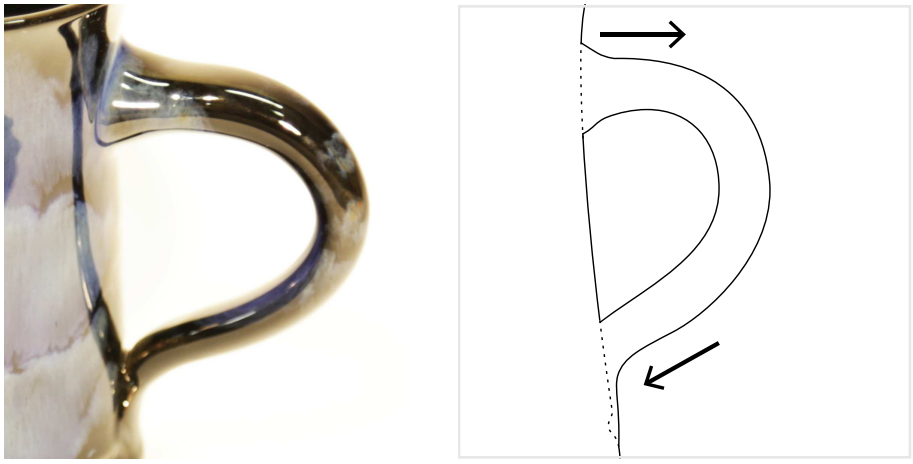

Figure 6.16 Photo and outline drawing of the handle of the Ewenny mug. The arrows show the dynamic flowing of the clay (i.e. 'natural spring') along the unretouched curve of the handle.

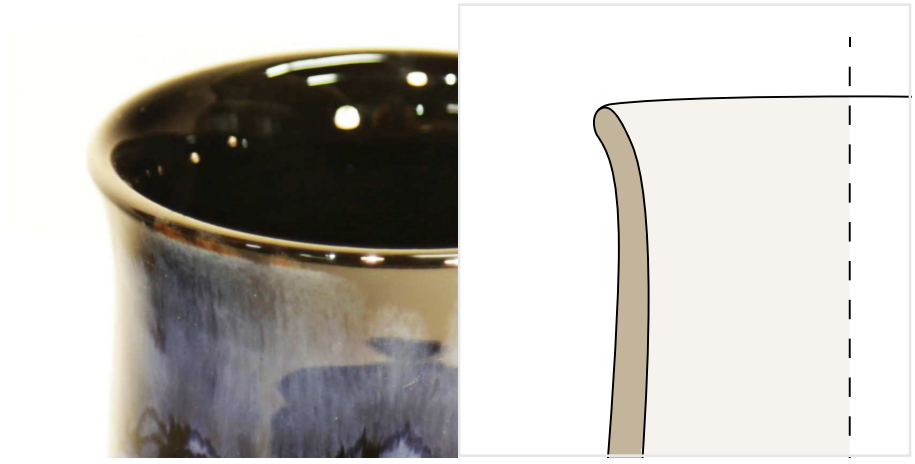

Figure 6.17 Photo and indicative section of the rim of the Ewenny mug, showing the rounded tip of the lip.

6.2.2.2.2 Glaze

The 'splash glaze' mug is decorated with a coating of glassy, dark glaze on all sides except the base, and shows a mottled effect on the outside which resembles marbling. This glaze effect is much appreciated by the potters and a key selling point of Ewenny ware (EP09). The inside is plain and glazed with the dark, reflective background colour of the splash glaze outside. The glaze forms an even coating which envelopes the mug and adds integrity to the design. The potters highlight the glaze's softness[4] and pleasant feel to the touch (EP14), creating a "nice, clean, smooth surface" (EP16). This taste for glossy, sleek glaze surfaces is in line with Caitlin's appreciation of glass (EP08).

6.2.2.2.3 Handle

The handle springs out horizontally from the narrowest point of the cylinder below the rim, and naturally folds back above the foot to form a rounded loop (Figure 6.16). It has a roughly circular section which thins out towards the base, and is blended into the groove. The design is characteristic of other traditional country pottery (e.g. Sussex pots described in McGarva, 2000: p.25) and directly derived from old Ewenny ware. When asked to describe the qualities of the Ewenny mug, Caitlin commented on the "nice feeling" of its handle: "it feels that there's no angle to it, it's comfortable on the hand" (EP14)[5].

The mug is relatively heavy, and the length of the loop and the weight at the base of the cylinder may feel unbalanced, but the handle has a good grip and the out-flaring rim provides additional support.

The transition of the handle onto the cylinder is minimal and cleanly executed (Figure 6.16). The bottom joint is squeezed onto the groove which defines the foot, showing action on the clay when still plastic, a sign the handle was 'pulled' and not simply attached.

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4 Alun described his glazes as 'harder' than the 'soft' glazes used by his predecessors (EP09). However, Caitlin used the term 'soft' to indicate the 'nice feeling' of the rim on the mouth (EP14).

5 This contrasts greatly with Bernard Leach's opinion that "a round sectioned handle is almost equally objectionable from opposite reasons of clumsiness and weight. Such rotundity may take its place in early pottery, but it does not suit modern life" (1978: p.231), whereas Cardew would have opposed the tapering of the section towards the base as "one of the worst faults in a handle" (2002: p.129). Kenneth Clark also believed that "the cross-sectional form or shape of handles is most important. Both for strength and comfort, a basically oval shape is the most satisfactory. Round handles tend to move or slip when gripped" (1970: p.52).

Figure 6.18 The foot of the Ewenny mugs, defined by a light groove and an undercut.

Figure 6.19 The inner floors of the Ewenny mugs. The one of the right shows the ring marks left by the fingertips during pulling.

Figure 6.20 The bases of the Ewenny mugs, showing the name of the pottery in the characteristic cursive handwriting.

6.2.2.2.4 Rim

The rim forms a relatively pronounced lip which flares out to the same width of (or slightly narrower than) the base. The section of the rim is round (Figure 6.17) and relatively thin for an earthenware mug. The shape and feel of the lip invite the mouth, and drinking is aided by the good heat retention of the earthenware body. As Caitlin mentioned, "when you put it in your mouth it's a nice feeling, it's soft in your mouth" (EP14).

6.2.2.2.5 Foot

The 'foot' of the mug is defined by a shallow groove running all around the cylinder just above the base (Figure 6.18). A small semi-circular profile is formed between the groove and a light undercut at the base, roughly corresponding to the thickness of the base.

The solid design suggests what Robin Hopper described as "stolidity, stability, and an ability to deal with the stresses and strains of daily family living" (2000: p.134). The distinctive foot creates a base for the cylinder without the need to turn the mugs after throwing, and works as the foundation of the mug's outward spring, projected along the walls and out of the rim (Figure 6.15).

The shape of the foot matches the round section of the handle, and the combination suggests a rusticity reminiscent of the earthenware tankards produced in Staffordshire in the 17th and 18th centuries (e.g. Wood, 1999: p.44).

As mentioned in Section 5.2.9, the potters can point to subtle differences in the foot to identify its maker. Attempts to replicate the foot 'in the manner of' the potters also resulted in a consistent personal character, which differed from Alun's and Caitlin's[6].

6.2.2.2.6 Floor

The inner floor of the mug is flat and undecorated (Figure 6.19). It is covered in a reflective dark brown glaze, except for the lighter shade used in the brown splash glaze version. It shows no spiral but a light circle is sometimes visible at the edge, where the potters pressed their fingertips into the clay before pulling the walls.

6.2.2.2.7 Base

The base is cut with a flat wire which leaves no texture or pattern. It is left unglazed, but

6 This demonstrated the importance of reflection by making to identify the subtleties of the operation, not visible through video analysis.

Figure 6.21 Examples of Leach tableware in stoneware as shown on their website. Clockwise from top left: milk jug, medium jug , set of mixing bowls, set of plates (photos: www.leachpottery.com/leach-standard-ware-products, accessed 6/1/18).

Figure 6.22 The mug (left) and medium bowl (right) of the Leach porcelain tableware range, as shown on their website (photos: www.leachpottery.com/leach-standard-ware-products, accessed 6/1/18).

can sometimes retain some traces of glaze, even if the bisque is sponged off (Figure 6.20).

The base reveals the dark colour of the earthenware clay, and can present scratches and minor chattering left by the knife used by Jayne to clean it when the clay is harder than leather but not yet dry (EP12). The rustic colour of the earthenware and the rough surface of the base contrast greatly with the smooth glazed surfaces.

6.2.2.2.8 Signature

The base shows the characteristic hand-carved signature "Ewenny Pottery Wales", in cursive characters (Figure 6.20), reminiscent of the "Ewenny Pottery" or "Ewenni Pottery" written on historical ware. "Wales" was added in 1992 to indicate the European country of origin.

6.3 Qualities of Leach ware

6.3.1 The Leach Pottery standard ware range

6.3.1.1 Typologies and general description

The range of tableware produced at the Leach in 2016 consisted of stoneware and porcelain pots intended for everyday use. A few larger pieces for serving food - i.e. decorated chargers and jugs - were made by Roelof and other senior staff. All stoneware products were initially designed by Roelof with input from John Bedding, and later refined with the help of Kat, Britta and the rest of the team. Kat was in charge of producing the porcelain range, which she had also helped design (LP97). The handles on all typologies were pulled and pots were thrown on electric wheels, bisque fired and dipped in glaze. They were fired in one of the three gas kilns on site in a reduction atmosphere reaching 1280 °C, i.e. between cone 10 and 11.

In April 2016, the stoneware range comprised (see examples in Figure 6.21):

- Large and small mugs;
- Small, medium and large plates;
- Small, medium and large general-purpose bowls (or GP bowls)
- Small and large jugs,
- Pourers;

- Egg cups;
- Honey jars; and
- Mixing bowl sets of 3.

All pots were decorated using the same range of glazes: a 'tenmoku' black, a 'dolomite' white and an 'oribe' green. The porcelain range followed a different line of design and was decorated with a 'yin xin' celadon glaze, plus red iron oxide on the rim (Figure 6.22). It consisted of:

- Large mugs;
- Medium jugs;
- Sake cups (also called 'shot glasses'); and
- Small, medium and large bowls.

6.3.1.2 Formal qualities

The Leach range is characterised by solid but elegant forms, softly thrown. Kat described the pots as having "a certain kind of breath", and opposed their vitality to the lack of qualities of "dead" pots (LP78). The potters place a strong emphasis on making elegant curves which spring upwards, rather than 'barrely' shapes appearing to fall under their own weight. Unlike the Ewenny range, this is aided by the use of turned feet or bevels which raise the base level of the pots and create a shadow beneath them (as in Oriental ceramics).

Elements such as bevels, pulled handles and wire cutting patterns are shared across typologies, and contribute to the consistency of the range. All rims have functional profiles designed to perform well, but they differ depending on the purpose of the pot: a pointy drinking profile on mugs and cups, a 'Leach style' tapered rim on jugs, and a strong rolled rim on plates and bowls. The shapes and making methods make these pots more resilient to chipping.

More advanced designs, such as the nesting bowls, require accurate replication of curves and profiles (Figure 6.21), and proficiency in throwing and ribbing. As Laurence explained: "the idea is that if you were to drop a marble on the inside it'd smoothly run, rather than bounce as well" (LP03).

Handles vary in design from drinking to pouring vessels, but are all pulled directly from the body of the pot and ideally retain the dynamic movement of the process.

6.3.1.3 Surface qualities

The Leach standard ware is softly thrown to emphasise its handmade origin on the wheel and the plastic qualities of clay, in the tradition of the historical Leach workshop and some Oriental pottery (LP89). Throwing rings and other marks are left somewhat visible, and the reflective glazes accentuate any undulation.

The glazes form a thick coating which ensures consistency in surface qualities and unifies the range (LP25). The clay is visible through the green transparent glaze, but iron specks and other "impurities" appear on the surface of all pots, encouraged by the reduced atmosphere in the kiln. Firing in reduction also gives the clay its warm, earthy colour.

The clay is left exposed on the bottom part of the dolomite mugs and jugs (Figure 6.21), and on the bases of all typologies, showing the soft lines made by serrated wires when the pots are cut from the wheel-head. Some pots have a stamp on the front covered in glaze or left bare, as in the dolomite mug in 2016, whilst in others the stamp is impressed on the hidden bases of the pots. The bases are ground to a soft, sandy consistency, which is sharper than the glazed areas.

6.3.1.4 Weight and balance

The Leach standard ware forms a "simple, very friendly to use, very durable" range (LP25). The pots are not thrown very thin and most have no turned feet. Pouring and GP bowls are among the types which are turned - albeit only lightly (LP25). The relative thickness inevitably results in extra weight but it is partly necessary because of the type of clay used (LP87).

The handles are generous and comfortable, to ensure a good grip when drinking or pouring liquids. All pots are designed with functionality in mind (LP108), and a good balance is guaranteed even on the larger jugs.

Figure 6.23 The large and small mugs in the three glaze combinations, as presented on the Leach website (photo: www.leachpottery.com/leach-standard-ware-products/large-mug-1 accessed 8/1/18).

Figure 6.24 Variations on the mug design made for Cornish company Seasalt, with the hakeme slip decoration under the oribe glaze, (left) and the dolomite (right) (photo: www.seasaltcornwall.co.uk/clothing/collections/small-glazed-clay-mug_brushed_glaze.htm accessed 1/2/18).

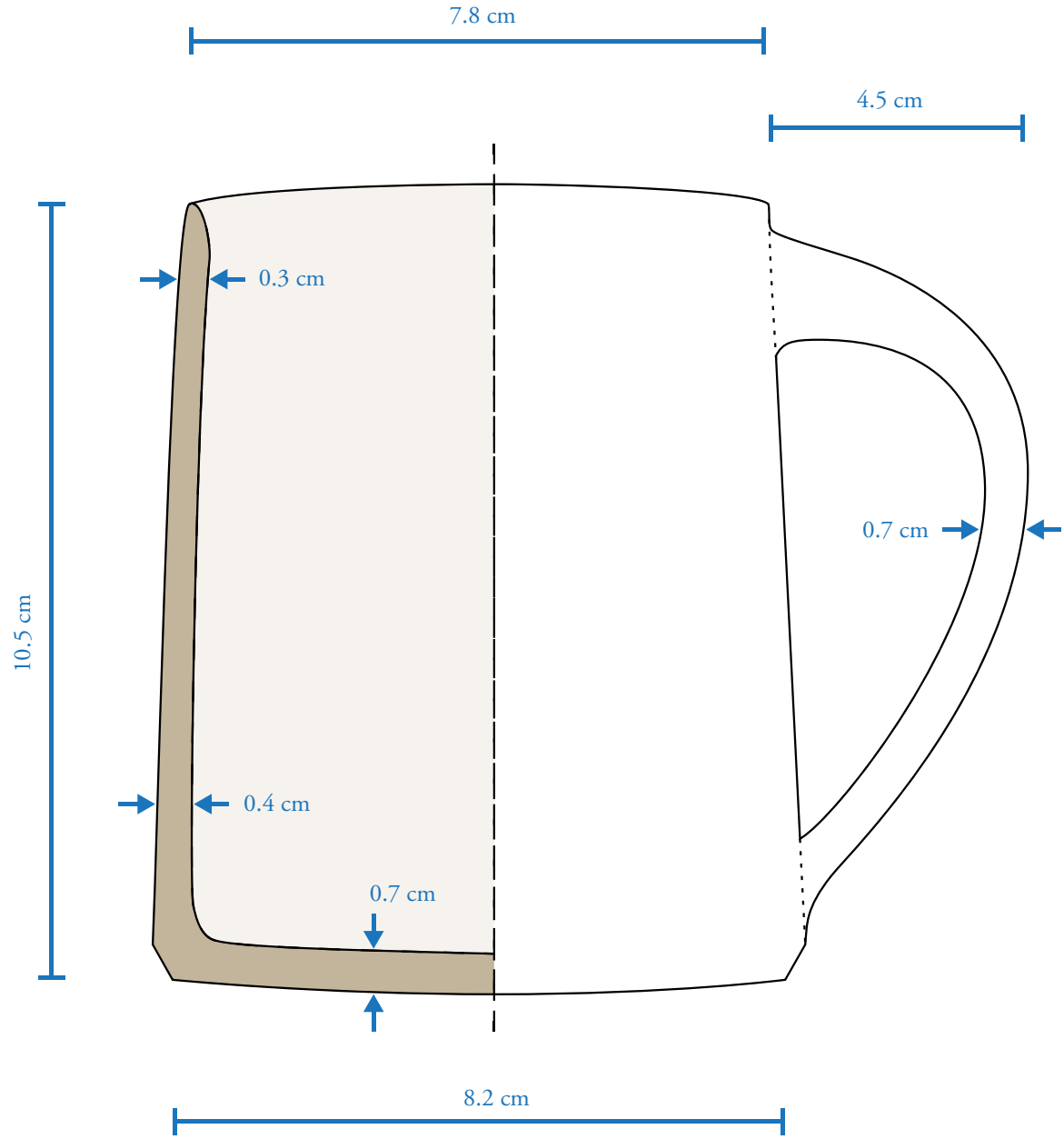

Figure 6.25 Indicative section and profile views of the Leach mug, with measurements.

Weight (fired)	360 g
Material	Stoneware
Glaze type	Oriental glazes
Firing temperatures	1280 °C
Kiln type	Reduction gas
Capacity	350 ml

Table 6.2 Summary of key specifications of the Leach mug.

Figure 6.26 Key design elements and qualities of the Leach mug.

6.3.2 The Leach mug

6.3.2.1 Description and specifications

Many considerations made about the Leach range also apply to the mugs. This section examines the 'large mug' in the current standard ware range, which consists of a softly thrown conical cylinder and a pulled handle running along its entire height. The mug is the staple typology in the workshop, and hundreds are produced each month by production potters, apprentices and volunteers. Roelof explained the mug has a simple shape but it encapsulates the design characteristics and manufacturing qualities he aims to achieve with the range, and it is used for training new potters when they join the team. The design is "fairly simple", but "if you get the shape wrong it looks the worst" (LP89).

The design pays homage to the historical standard ware produced at the Leach Pottery, especially in 1950s and 60s (LP87). Typically of the Anglo-Oriental style of ceramics, the range merges solid British country pottery forms with the refined sensibility derived from East-Asian models. The glazes are those of the Japanese Mingei tradition, based on simple recipes which include wood ash and iron oxide (Figure 6.23). Other versions are produced exclusively for Seasalt, as part of an ongoing collaboration linked to the pottery's apprenticeship scheme, which the company sponsors (Figure 6.24).

The mug cylinder is originally thrown to be 11 cm high, out of 400 g of clay. Its dimensions and thickness at key points once fired are shown in the drawing in Figure 6.25, and key specifications are indicated in Table 6.2.

6.3.2.2 Key elements

At the Leach, prolonged exposure to a team of potters and repeated attempts to reproduce the mugs on site produced much information about key design features and qualities desired for the range. These are examined below for each element of the mug, and summarised in Figure 6.26.

6.3.2.2.1 Walls

The cylinder has a slightly conical shape, narrowing at the top. Its profile is described by Roelof as a 'straight curve' (LP01), as opposed to an undesired 'barrely' shape (LP89). Callum explained "the shape is meant to have a very subtle curve", but if this is not

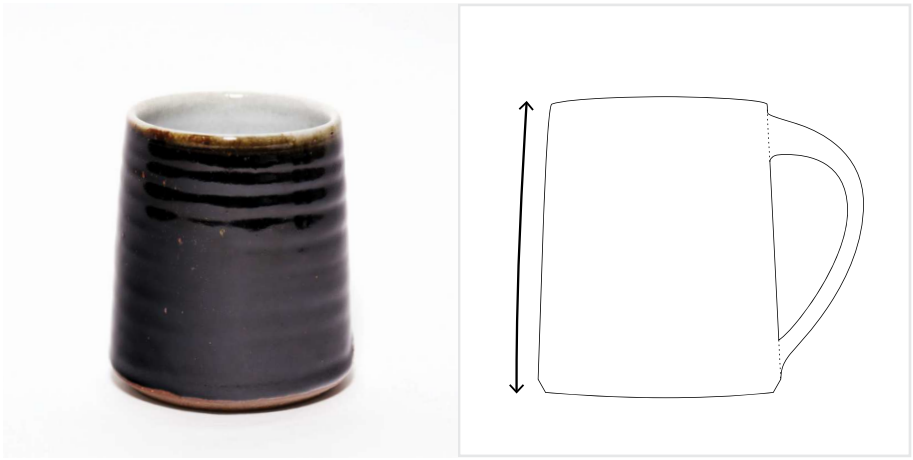

Figure 6.27 Photo and drawing outline of the cylinder of the Leach mug.

Figure 6.28 Photo and drawing outline of the handle of the Leach mug.

Figure 6.29 Photo and indicative section of the rim of the Leach mug.

achievable a straight wall is considered acceptable (LP18).

The walls are relatively thick for a stoneware mug. The throwing lines are clearly visible on the outside and inside of the cylinder, characteristic of the 'soft look' of the range. Ideally the lines should form a regular pattern, to show the dexterity of the potter at the wheel (LP34). They should be visible but not overly done (LP25).

A balance is achieved between the lift provided by the bevel and the upwards spiral of throwing lines, and the visual weight of the profile (Figure 6.27).

6.3.2.2.2 Glaze

The mugs are produced in the three glaze combinations used in the range: a 'tenmoku' black with 'dolomite' white interior, a white 'dolomite' and an ash green (referred to as 'oribe' by the potters[7] but described as 'ash/green' on the Leach website, 2017). The green and white mugs have a line of iron running on the rim. The glaze on the white mug only covers the top two thirds of the cylinder from the top, exposing the natural colour of the clay below (Figure 6.23).

Much consideration is given to the preparation and application of the glazes, especially for the tenmoku. The even black surface requires a level wall and an evenly thick application of glaze, which promptly breaks off into a rusty red in thinner areas. This creates an organic effect which is appreciated but requires control. The white dolomite adds a solid coating which hides more subtle hand marks but can bring out iron spots to the surface. These are also appreciated if not too prominent. Finally, the oribe is transparent and reveals more of the surface underneath.

Marks left by fingers during the application of the glazes are minimised but tolerated as indication of the handmade process,but, like other 'imperfections', they are not intentionally added (as Jordan explained, "you don't do anything for special effect", LP01).

6.3.2.2.3 Handle

The handle covers almost the entire height of the Leach mug. Its shape is described by the potters as a "soft seven" (LP48, LP89) starting at the top with a short section which soon

7 Since the glaze does not contain copper it is technically not an oribe, but a type of celadon, as the green colour is produced by small percentages of iron oxide in the clay. The name suggests a link with Japanese pottery, but the style is very different.

Figure 6.30 The bevel and stamps of the Leach mugs.

Figure 6.31 The inner floors of the Leach tenmoku (left) and dolomite mugs (right). The latter shows a light spiral.

Figure 6.32 The bases of the Leach mugs, showing the pattern left by the serrated wire.

bends into a longer strip forming an acute angle just above the bevel. The top joint starts just below the rim, at an angle lower than the horizontal line (Figure 6.28). A 'D-shaped' profile (like the one of the Maze Hill mug) should be avoided.

The handle is a key design feature and the potters pay much attention to matching Roelof's instructions (LP48). The best examples retain the naturally flowing profile given by the pulling method (LP97). The section is oval[8], pointed towards the edges (LP48), and the strip has no ridges or embellishments. The joints are clean and unfussy, showing only a minimal transition between handle and cylinder.

6.3.2.2.4 Rim

The rim has a functional, tapered profile on the inside, designed to maximise comfort (Figure 6.29). On the outside it continues the curvature of the wall. The tip comes to a blunt point (LP96), which helps give definition to the rim, although some potters simply aim to achieve a round tip to avoid sharp edges (LP18).

In the oribe and dolomite versions, the rim is decorated with a line of iron oxide which accentuates the delimitation between inner and outer spaces. In the tenmoku mug a similar effect is achieved by the white dolomite inside out-flowing onto the black rim.

The rim design is common to all drinking vessels in the range. It is a key feature of the Leach mug, and one that attracts much criticism when pots are checked in the process (e.g. LP25).

6.3.2.2.5 Bevel

The mug does not have a foot as such, but an undercut at the base creates a shadow which visually 'lifts' the shape upwards (LP01). The inward angle of the bevel contrasts with the shape of the cylinders, and defines the widest edge of the pot (Figure 6.30).

The potters may use personal tools and methods to create the bevel, which is an important feature to judge when checking the pots (e.g. LP25). A 'strong' bevel is cut sharply to the right size and angle, showing the proficiency of the maker. Attempts to correct it or clean it only result in an overworked surface which will remain exposed in the finished pot

8 Bernard Leach would have approved of the handles' comfortable and regular oval section: "Sophistication is our lot and not necessarily a bad thing, so we seek a solution in the matter of handles by a flat oval section and springing curves" (1978: p.231).

(Research Journal, 29 July 2016).

6.3.2.2.6 Floor

The floor of the mug is wide and visible (Figure 6.31). Mugs made by Britta (LP16), Kat (LP78) and Roelof (LP39) tend to include light spirals, which indicate their origin on the potter's wheel. Kat believes her spiral is subtle and not many people who pick up a mug would notice it (LP78), but the potters can distinguish their own and others' marks on the mugs.

Reproducing the mugs showed that if the rib or knife used to cut the bevel is not sharp or used appropriately, the clay is pushed in, rather than cut away. This results in a convex corner inside the cylinder, which should be avoided (Research Journal, 1 June 2016).

6.3.2.2.7 Base

Lines left by the serrated cutting wire decorate the hidden base of the mug (Figure 6.32). The base remains exposed in the finished pieces and this makes the cutting patterns particularly apparent in the design - a clear hint to the historical range.

Roelof prefers straight or "more or less straight" lines (LP01), cut while the wheel is kept still. However, cutting patterns differ among potters. All pots made by Britta show a wavy pattern, which she favours and uses to trace the pots she makes. She described it as a "wiggle" that was a "habit of Jack's time"[9] (LP39). Other potters follow the instructions more literally, but Jordan's wheel had a creep which meant it would not stop immediately at the end of the throwing session (LP01). This also created a distinctive cutting pattern.

6.3.2.2.8 Stamp

All pots are stamped with the historical Leach Pottery mark (Figure 6.30), by using a porcelain stamp Kat makes for the team. In 2016, the stamp was applied on the black and green versions on a small chum (i.e. ball of clay) located on the left face of the mug from the handle. The dolomite version was simply stamped on the exposed clay, in the same position.

In 2017, the stamp was moved to the bottom of the mug on all three versions, to leave the walls unmarked (Research Journal, 11 Sept 2017).

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9 The wavy pattern was a feature of the range designed by Jack Doherty. This is discussed in Section 7.3.1.

6.4 Qualities of Maze Hill ware

6.4.1 The Maze Hill Pottery tableware range

6.4.1.1 Typologies and general description

The Maze Hill range comprises soda-fired functional tableware (Figure 6.33) and Lisa's more personal pots, also functional, some of which are decorated with shino[10] glazes (Figure 6.34). This study focuses on the selection of functional range produced by Florian under Lisa's instructions, but the discussion of other pots made at Maze Hill informed the analysis of their processes, design considerations and philosophy of making. In February 2016, the Maze Hill tableware range consisted of:

- Espresso mugs;
- Medium and large mugs;
- Footed bowls;
- Pouring bowls;
- Dishes;
- Small creamers (Figure 6.35);
- Open and lidded casseroles;
- Lidded jars (Figure 6.37);
- Coffee pots (i.e. cafetières);
- Mortars and pestles;
- Bread crocks; and
- Small, medium and large 'leaning back' jugs (Figure 6.36).

Most typologies are made by Lisa, with apprentices generally in charge of simpler shapes. By May 2017, Florian had made mugs, small jugs, espresso mugs, creamers, bowls and pouring bowls (MH06). Lisa's range of personal pots includes Japanese-inspired teapots, *tsubo* jars, *yunomi* cups, sake bottles and cups, *chawan* teabowls and an array of vases of

10 Shino is a Japanese term which generically refers to a glaze mix with high percentages of feldspar.

Figure 6.33 Footed bowls shown on Lisa's website (photo: www.lisahammond-pottery.co.uk, accessed 6/1/18).

Figure 6.34 Japanese-inspired shino bottles made by Lisa Hammond (photo: www.lisahammond-pottery.co.uk/gallery/, accessed 6/6/18).

Figure 6.35 Espresso mugs and faceted creamers on display at Maze Hill Open Studio event (photo: 8 Dec 2016).

Figure 6.36 Jugs on display at Maze Hill during an Open Studio event (photo: 8 Dec 2016).

Figure 6.37 Examples of Maze Hill tableware shown on the Goldmark Gallery's website (www.goldmarkart.com/lisa-hammond/artist/lisa-hammond, accessed 1/2/18).

different shapes and sizes (Figure 6.34).

All functional tableware has a liner glaze on the inside. Outside, the pots are dipped in or brushed with a tan or a red shino slip, which is later sprayed with a blue-black cobalt stain mix (MH18). The pots are raw fired in a soda kiln around cone 11, just under 1300 °C, with a final addition of salt.

6.4.1.2 Formal qualities

Lisa designed her tableware range and refined it over decades of continuous production. She describes her tableware as "simple utilitarian pots. They're easy to use and easy on the eye". She explained: "my functional range is based around simple forms executed well" (MH06).

The tableware made at Maze Hill follows the archetypal shapes of functional pottery. Their unfussy geometric volumes show gentle curves, soft facets and round corners. Florian described the simplicity of the forms in contrast to the 'explosive' colours of the soda firings:

> *"the forms are all very subtle and simple. There's no over embellishment of the actual clay form, they're just straightforward, functional pots" (Gadsby, 2015i).*

He described the mug as a soft form, not particularly interesting but nice to make, hold and use, "comfortable and round" (MH02).

Lisa emphasised the subtleties behind even the simple cylindrical shape of the espresso mugs and how learning to make them can be a "humbling experience" (Goldmark Gallery, 2012a). This was confirmed by the attempts to replicate the pots off site. Drinking vessels such as beer and sake cups are praised by the potters for their functionality, with "soft, slightly slanting out" rims which make them comfortable to drink from (Goldmark Gallery, 2011). Florian also believes functionality is important: "if I'm gonna use it, I wanna put my mouth on something which is nice to use" (MH04).

Subtle considerations of form guide the making of all shapes, and differences among makers are easily spotted. Florian described his jugs as more rounded, with a bit of a belly:

> *"yeah, they're really tricky to throw so they're all just subtle, they're really subtle curves, the subtle curves are really the hardest thing about throwing, in a way, I think. You know, once you can throw, getting the height isn't the problem, it's the getting the curves right and the lips right and those sort of features". I suggested, "the subtleties",*

> *he continued "the subtleties. And those are what make pots good, really, I think, in my opinion are those things, careful, careful subtleties and considered and well executed" (MH03).*

The pots present no embellishments, no sharp corners or profiled edges. Some simple alterations of thrown shapes are used to create oven dishes or give an expressionist slant to a family of jugs. With much emphasis on shino glazes and soda firing in the presentation of pots online (e.g. Goldmark Gallery, 2011) and in conversations, it is easy to overlook the effectiveness and straightforwardness of Lisa's forms. Her background in production pottery informs the functionality of the range, whose lack of decoration enhances thrown qualities.

Similarly, strong, comfortable pulled handles are used throughout the range to match the dynamic forms shaped by throwing.

6.4.1.3 Surface qualities

The vigorous and organic qualities of Lisa's tableware are highlighted by the reaction of the soda-salt mix in the firing. Florian vividly described the rustic surface qualities of Maze Hill pottery:

> *"We never have to really worry about crawling or pin-holing as the soda just covers everything with a glassy layer and makes it look nice. Allowing glazes to be a little patchy often doesn't matter either as all the sides will come out asymmetrical anyway. The bare clay body also looks stunning, it becomes alive compared to that of electric and gas fired work, surfaces become almost metallic and juicy, it seeps through the glazes and slip and leaves lovely flowing iron speckles" (Gadsby, 2015g).*

In describing her more personal work, Lisa emphasises the organic, serendipitous effects she aims to achieve (Goldmark Gallery, 2012d). The tableware is more controlled but shares a similar search for effect. The atmospheric firings result in different sides of the same pot developing potentially contrasting qualities, from matte and underfired surfaces to blasted, bleached, runny and glossy glazes. Underfired pots are not always salvageable by additional firings, and are selected as seconds to sell in the studio (Research Journal, 21 February 2016).

The surfaces of the tableware are mostly plain, except some shallow faceting on casseroles and creamers (Figure 6.35). All pots are glazed with a shino-based liner slip-glaze inside, a "very good durable surface on the inside" (Goldmark Gallery, 2012b) which ensures their functionality, as the soda vapours may not penetrate all surfaces. The outer walls are

typically dipped or brushed with slip to give the pots their three base colours and allow them to react with the soda mix in complex ways. For example, Lisa described her beer cups as acquiring a:

> *"very subtle colour sometimes; very dark blues and blacks and breaking to white, and then a sort of blue edge around the edge. So, they're often very pretty" (ibid).*

A single blue slip can produce a range of shades: from Prussian to browny blues, to a "sort of pale washed out indigo" (ibid). The variation on the red pots is compared to a "leopardy kind of animal skin" (Goldmark Gallery, 2012c).

In his posts on social media Florian once described the unique qualities of "two rather extraordinary creamers" in great detail, as having a:

> *"perfect band above the facets and it goes around the whole piece, creating a lovely divide between the richness of the nutty red facets and the smokey, white fading into black rim. The glaze has also broken on the sharp edges between the cuts on the sides, but only around the waist section, really a very interesting piece and totally unique. The yellow slipped one almost has the same thing happening with its characteristic blue streaking […]. This one has it just right though, a nice shiny yellow surface with the blue streaking happening in a soft undulation around the rim" (Gadsby, 2015f).*

The high fired temperatures and chemical reactions in the firing produce hard surfaces (MH04) which envelop the forms, without the neater separation of glazed areas and exposed clay which is more common in electric or fast firings. They can also produce sharp edges and corners which require extra chiselling and sanding, especially on the bases.

> *"If the pot gets too much soda and isn't let to mature when soaking they can develop a 'scabby' surface, which means it's rough and sharp and needs to be worked on with a diamond pad to smooth it down. Another problem that can happen is the piece can receive far too much soda and gets blasted, the colour gets bleached and starts to fade and run" (Gadsby, 2015e).*

6.4.1.4 Weight and balance

Florian described Maze Hill tableware as "not light pots by any means, they're quite chunky" (MH04). This is partly dictated by the requirement of the process, in which slip is applied on raw pots and long soakings are undertaken during the firing. However, the mug is relatively light (Table 6.3) and Florian confirmed "they're quite thick chunky things but they're not heavy, they're just balanced" (ibid).

Figure 6.38 From left: the blue and red shino versions of the large mug made by Florian Gadsby at Maze Hill.

Figure 6.39 Other examples of the same two colours, showing variation across the same typology (photo: 8 Dec 2016).

Figure 6.40 Espresso cups promoted by Lisa Hammond for the Goldmark Gallery, based on design, materials and methods used for larger mugs (video still: Goldmark Gallery, 2012a).

Figure 6.41 An older example of a yellow slip version, no longer produced (photo: 17 June 2016).

Figure 6.42 Examples of photos posted by Florian on social media, alongside detailed descriptions of qualities, narratives and processes (photos: Gadsby, 2017 (left); Gadsby, 2016b (right)).

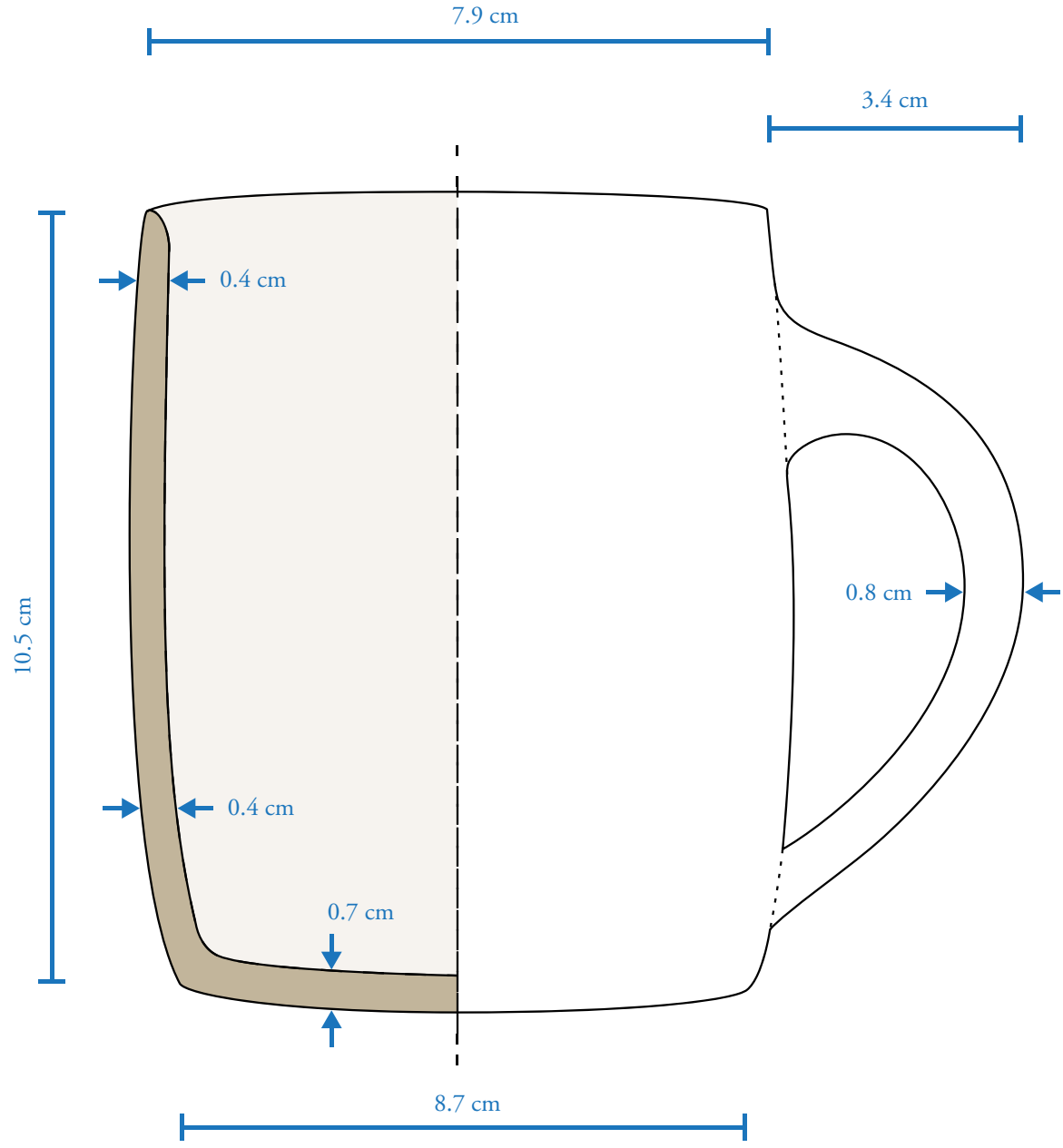

Figure 6.43 Indicative section and profile views of the Maze Hill mug, with measurements.

Weight (fired)	410 g
Material	Stoneware
Glaze type	Shino slips fired with soda/salt mix
Firing temperatures	Cone 12, above 1300 °C
Kiln type	Downdraft gas
Capacity	380 ml

Table 6.3 Summary of key specifications of the Maze Hill mug.

Figure 6.44 Key design elements and qualities of the Maze Hill mug.

6.4.2 The Maze Hill mug

6.4.2.1 Description and specifications

The 'medium mug' is made at Maze Hill by Florian as part of Lisa's range of tableware. The design consists of a "rough cylinder" (MH02) with a D-shaped pulled handle (Figure 6.38). This apparent simplicity hides subtle considerations of form and surface qualities, which apprentices learn to master as they make thousands of mugs over their time at the pottery.

Consistently with the rest of the range, the mug's complex surfaces emerge in the firing, providing an attractive rusticity to otherwise undecorated pots (see Figures on page 276). The mug cylinder is originally thrown to be 12 cm high and 9cm wide, out of 460 g of silica-rich stoneware clay.

The mug's final dimensions and thickness at key points are shown in the drawing in Figure 6.43, and key specifications are indicated in Table 6.3.

6.4.2.2 Key elements

As per the other case studies, the information on key design and manufacturing qualities emerged from conversations with the potters on site and reflection by making the mugs. This is complemented by detailed notes on Maze Hill pots posted by Florian on social media, providing additional insights on his and Lisa's work.

The elements of the mug are discussed in the sections below, and key aspects are summarised in Figure 6.44.

6.4.2.2.1 Walls

The design consists of a plain cylinder with a slight belly just below mid-height (Figure 6.45). Lisa described its simplicity by saying "it's deliberately a cylinder mug" (MH06). For Florian the form is "kind of a little barrel" (MH02) which has "not much to it" (Research Journal, 9 June 2016). However, Lisa commented on the apprentices' difficulty in getting the shape right at first and having to throw away boards of pots, as beginners tend to accentuate the belly and the undercut, and never achieve the "subtle curve" intended (MH06).

With these comments in mind and under the guidance of the videos captured on site, attempts to reproduce the mug cylinder were relatively satisfactory (see Section 4.4.5).

Figure 6.45 Photo and drawing outline of the cylinder of the Maze Hill mug.

Figure 6.46 Photo and drawing outline of the handle of the Maze Hill mug.

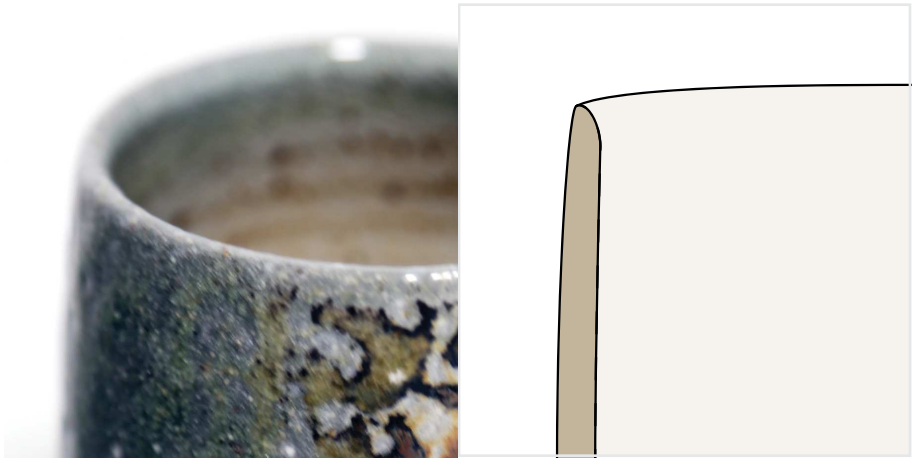

Figure 6.47 Photo and indicative section of the rim of the Maze Hill mug.

However the results ultimately lacked the confidence derived from making hundreds of pots of the same design. The walls of the Maze Hill mug are thinner and more stretched than the Leach and Ewenny mugs, and required a more accurate pulling of the clay.

6.4.2.2.2 Glaze

Like all functional tableware made at Maze Hill, the mugs are soda-fired with the addition of some salt, and this process gives them their characteristic rustic look. Much attention is given to the variation of colour and texture produced in the firings, and this to some extent drives all other aspects of the process.

Unfussy surfaces and simple shapes are decorated by the complex and partly fortuitous reaction of the soda mix with clays, slips and oxides in the firing (MH18). The main base colours are cobalt blues, orange-reds and a yellow tan[11], alongside the grey colour of the clay seen through the liner glaze (MH04).

As the pots are raw-fired [Section 8.2.6] they are not glazed but coated in slip and oxides. In 2016, the potters began to apply slip with a hakeme brush, an effect first successfully tried on beer cups (MH06). This creates very subtle striation in the raw pots which then react markedly in the firing and produce a characteristic pattern (Figure 6.42 and Figure 6.48). The pots are prepared in two main decorative combinations: a tan slip, which turns red in the firing, and a shino slip with a cobalt oxide, which produces a blue glaze (Figure 6.38). The liner glaze inside the mugs is transparent and reveals the grey colour of the clay. A definite crackle is visible inside the cylinder, especially near the rim.

Salt is added to the soda solution at the end of a firing (MH10) to produce an 'orange peel' effect in some areas (Figure 6.48).

6.4.2.2.3 Handle

The handle on the Maze Hill mug consists of a strip of clay of oval section, pulled directly from the body pointing downwards at an angle (Figure 6.46). It is attached close to the base to form a symmetrical D shape. The handle is sturdy and thick, "very comfy" (MH03) and the best examples show a nice flow. Arguably, its relatively thick section shows the

11 The yellow tan had been used in the past (Figure 6.41) but during fieldwork the potters had lost the recipe for the yellow slip (Research Journal, 23 May 2017), so the colours observed on site were variations on the cobalt blue and the shino red.

Figure 6.48 The bevel and stamp of the red shino (left) and the blue (right) Maze Hill mugs.

Figure 6.49 The inner floors of the red shino (left) and the blue (right) Maze Hill mugs, showing the reaction of the liner glaze with the soda / salt mix.

Figure 6.50 The bases of the red shino (left) and the blue (right) Maze Hill mugs, showing the shell pattern and the marks left by the wadding pads.

"invitation to be held", which Robin Hopper identified as the sign of a good handle (2000: p.149).

Discussing the handles of the small espresso mugs, Florian once wrote "They aren't too thin and have a slight roundness on the inside, which makes them comfortable to hold" (Gadsby, 2015c). Lisa commented on the inside profile of handles when she checked the mugs that had been freshly made for her by a potential apprentice on probation[12] (MH17), at indication of the level of care that goes into making and inspecting such a seemingly simple shape.

For Daniel Rhodes the merits of pulling handles lie in "the integrated relationship which is developed between handle and pot" (1978: p.91). This is exemplified by the Maze Hill mug, in which the appropriateness of the design and the layer of soda glaze make the handle integral to the mug, showing soft edges and joints flowing into the cylinder (Figure 6.46).

6.4.2.2.4 Rim

On the outside the rim follows the curvature of the wall (Figure 6.47), on the inside it goes at an angle and gets sharp (MH04). The tapered profile shows Lisa's focus on functionality.

The soda firing can thin the rim as the slip can melt from the tip of the cylinder and expose the grey colour of the clay. This results in a rusticity in the rim which contrasts, for example, with the smoothness of the Ewenny mug.

6.4.2.2.5 Bevel

A light undercut removes excess clay which typically forms at the base and helps create the barrely shape of the mug (Figure 6.48), which is in fact thrown almost straight. For Florian, the undercut is the key to the mug's subtle curve: "what makes them look so good is the undercut, more than anything" (MH04).

The cut is also indicative of the maker. The mugs made by Darren in the past had a straight bevel, with a more defined angle. This derived from Darren's preference for Yoji Yamada's (a past apprentice of Lisa's) version of the Maze Hill mug, which also had a straighter wall and bevel. Instead, Florian's bevel is light and follows the curvature of the walls.

12 Potter Oliver Fenwick was working at Maze Hill as a potential future apprentice in May 2017.

6.4.2.2.6 Floor

The floor inside the mugs is covered in liner glaze and soda, and often shows a light spiral (Figure 6.49). As Florian described in one of his posts:

> *"The inside of this mug is mostly white, at the very bottom, inside the pot, I throw a quick spiral in, the idea being that the soda can pool in the grooves left by my fingers, creating a curl of cracked green glass in the base" (Gadsby, 2016d).*

Florian did not add a spiral to the first batches of mugs he made, but introduced it later, inspired by mugs made by other apprentices which he observed and used in the studio (MH02).

6.4.2.2.7 Base

The base is slightly concave, as the centre is pressed in to ensure the mug sits flat on a table after having been potentially distorted in the firing. It is decorated by shell-like lines produced by the serrated wire cutting through the clay when the wheel is still spinning (Figure 6.50). Unlike the Ewenny and the Leach mugs, the base of the Maze Hill mug is also covered by glaze, except for three round dots where little balls of wadding are used to prevent the pots from sticking to the shelves.

Florian believes bases are important elements in mug design and "if they're unintentionally forgotten about it's a bit sad" (MH04).

6.4.2.2.8 Stamp

The mugs are not signed by Lisa as she does not typically make them. The Maze Hill Pottery roundel "MP" is impressed to the left of the handle's bottom joint (Figure 6.48). The clay is left exposed by covering the stamped area with a thumb when either dipping or brushing the mug with slip, holding it upside down. This is done in a controlled way on the mug, although the technique is common in Oriental ceramics and Lisa occasionally adopts it more casually in her personal pieces, inspired by her knowledge of Japanese pottery (e.g. the jugs in Figure 6.36).

6.5 Variation in qualities[13]

This chapter has so far discussed general design elements and manufacturing qualities of

13 This section contains notes first presented at the Utsuwa Utsushi symposium, Chelsea College of Art, London, 4th May 2018.

a range or typology. Individual objects can only exemplify these general considerations if they are produced at a high degree of consistency, so that images can illustrate points made in the text. A degree of consistency in production is required for commercial tableware, but unique features can form part of the appeal of handmade pots (as seen in Section 1.1.1). In the case studies analysed, the potters do not refer to individual models to indicate the qualities desired for the range. Qualities are constantly discussed and negotiated by looking at various specimens, commenting on the elements that did - and those that did not - represent the master potter's intentions.

As pointed out in Section 2.3, pottery handbooks recognise tableware is produced in batches (e.g. Bloomfield, 2011: p.57; McErlain, 2002: p.97), but generally follow the making of single pots and do not describe the techniques involved in 'repetition throwing' of larger batches.

In this study, examining entire batches (rather than single objects) helped identify the rules of production, and distinguish general features from potential exceptions. Also, consistency across pots made in a workshop is itself a quality (e.g. Bloomfield, 2013: p.88 on throwing marks) which can only be assessed through comparison. This can highlight characteristics such as expressiveness, uniqueness and spontaneity, and provide further insights into narratives [as in Section 7.3.1].

6.5.2.1 Variation in Ewenny ware

The Ewenny range is highly consistent within typologies. The analysis of the sessions of the two potters at the wheel (EP_v01) and handling (EP_v02) reveals an astonishing closeness in methods [discussed in Section 8.2.3.4]. The potters' close training and proficient execution likely lead to the consistency observed in the products.

As described in the account of fieldwork in Section 5.2.9, Caitlin pointed out minor differences in the mug and other typologies: the foot tends to be rounder in pots made by Caitlin, whilst Alun's throwing marks tend to be more evident (i.e. "my father does the ribs on it", EP14). This is especially apparent on jugs and mugs in the lower section of the inner walls, as noted in Section 6.2.2.2.1. Caitlin described Alun's jug as having "more of a lift", and admitted "So, you know… there's variation in everything you make, isn't it?" (EP14).

These differences are very subtle and mostly driven by personal preference. They do not

Figure 6.51 Mugs and other typologies only show minimal variation at Ewenny.

Figure 6.52 Minor differences between these two jugs were pointed out by Caitlin in conversation (EP14).

Figure 6.53 Consistency in the Leach porcelain range was partly achieved through division of labour.

Figure 6.54 All Leach potters could make the mugs in 2016. Differences in their skill levels and styles could lead to variation in output.

Figure 6.55 A high level of variation is an essential quality of Maze Hill mugs, mostly achieved in the firing process.

Figure 6.56 The Maze Hill mugs made by Florian showed high consistency in form and decoration before firing.

practically either enhance or compromise tangible qualities, especially when compared with the variation observed in the other cases.

6.5.2.2 Variation in Leach ware

The mug and other typologies at the Leach are designed and produced as part of a consistent range, in which elements and surfaces make them appear as part of the "same family" (LP01). The potters aspire to minimise notable differences in the ware, as this enables selling pots online and to wholesale customers, but recognise some variation is inevitable. The standard ware catalogue on the Leach website includes the following comment:

> *"Please be aware that each item is thrown by hand and although sizes and capacities are as accurate as possible, they are approximate. Also due to the unpredictability of the firing process and materials, all glaze finishes are unique and can vary significantly" (Leach Pottery, 2017).*

A similar message is found on David Mellor's website, a long-standing wholesale customer of the pottery's (David Mellor, 2017).

The size and composition of the Leach team inevitably contributed to variation across the pots produced. A distinction can be made between deliberate variation, intentionally created by deviating from standard methods, and the inevitable variation resulting from the different technological styles of individuals. Examples of deliberate variation include the spiral added to the floor of the mugs and other typologies [discussed in Section 6.3.2.2.6] and the cutting patterns [Section 6.3.2.2.7]. The effect of distinct technological styles on the production of a standard range of ware is harder to pinpoint, but it is discussed in some detail in the analysis of manufacturing salience in Chapter 8, and particularly about ribbing [Section 8.2.3.5].

Arguably the slow, soft style of throwing and limited ribbing encouraged at the Leach Pottery can accommodate more personal surface qualities and recognisable marks. Consistency is also linked to the level of division of labour. For example, the porcelain range in 2016 was highly consistent as was entirely made by Kat (Figure 6.53), whereas the stoneware mug could be made by anyone in the team and showed larger variation (Figure 6.54). For these reasons, explicit instructions and quality control measures play an important role at the Leach [Section 7.3.2].

6.5.2.3 Variation in Maze Hill ware

As described in Section 6.4.2.2.2, the variation achieved through soda firing is not only accepted but encouraged, and key to the appreciation of Maze Hill tableware (Gadsby, 2015e; Figure 6.55). By contrast, the forms are very consistent, especially once the apprentices familiarise with the designs (Figure 6.56). Consistency is partly achieved through division of labour, as the shapes made by Florian are not made by Lisa, and viceversa.

Lisa described the variety of effects as "the thing that attracts me to shinos" (Goldmark Gallery, 2011). This is particularly appreciated in Lisa's personal work but it is to some extent a feature common to all pots made at Maze Hill.

6.6 Qualities in transformation

6.6.1 The perspective of the 'completed' pot

This chapter has so far discussed fired, new pots ready for sale: a stage in which the pots are considered completed by their makers and can be exhibited or exchanged for money. This is the viewpoint assumed by pottery anthologies and exhibition catalogues. It also serves well marketing material, specialist magazines and descriptions of the works on social media, which to an extent exist to support sales.

Other perspectives are possible, and useful for the analysis of qualities. As observed in Section 2.1.3.2, material culture scholars and especially anthropologists extend their interest to the entire spectrum of existence of a pot, from the extraction of raw materials to the eventual discard of the pot. This is also the range of the analysis of operational sequences in archaeology (Tostevin, 2011). Tim Ingold goes even further in suggesting that the "difference between material and objects is a difference of perspective" (Ingold, 2013: p.19).

As a practice-led study of products and manufacturing processes informed by fieldwork, this research has mostly been involved in observing, testing and discussing pots at different stages in the making. This includes - but is not limited to - the 'final', 'complete' stage. Further insights on qualities are generated by assuming other temporal perspectives, such as the development of qualities during the making of a single batch of pots, their evolution

over the years, or changes in surface qualities derived from use. These alternative views have informed the development of the findings throughout the thesis. Their importance is briefly discussed in the sections below.

6.6.2 Transient qualities in the making

The qualities of tableware pottery result from the continuous transformation of clay and glaze materials into finished products. Pots at different stages of preparation present intermediate, transient qualities which are the precursors of those observed in the final pieces. In fact, potters are typically surrounded by hundreds of pots in the making, and only spend a comparatively short time with fired products. The analysis of pottery production methods brings attention to the importance of these transient stages, which are constantly examined and discussed in the workshops. Any faults are checked before additional time, labour and materials are invested in substandard products. Craftsmanship is achieved by appropriately judging and responding to transient states of materials, guided by quality control standards and procedures which vary among workshops. These can be studied to highlight differences in approaches, identify key qualities potters carefully aim to ensure at each stage, uncover narratives otherwise unnoticed and point to salient moments in the making.

6.6.2.1 Ewenny ware

The creation of the characteristic surfaces of Ewenny ware (discussed in Section 6.2.1.3) can illustrate the transformation of transient qualities into final ones more generally. The glossy, smooth surface is the result of carefully executed intermediate steps, of which the most important are summarised in Figure 6.57. The control over qualities starts with the selection and preparation of the right materials. This is crucial in all ceramic production and especially in the making of functional ware (e.g. Hopper, 2000: p.188). At Ewenny, smooth surfaces are produced through the correct manipulation of fine terracotta clay and the application of a thin layer of lead frit glazes. In the attempts to reproduce the Ewenny mug off site, the use of iron-rich stoneware clay instead of fine red terracotta highlighted the specific properties of the clay used at Ewenny, and resulted in surfaces with more grog and rougher lines (Figure 6.58).

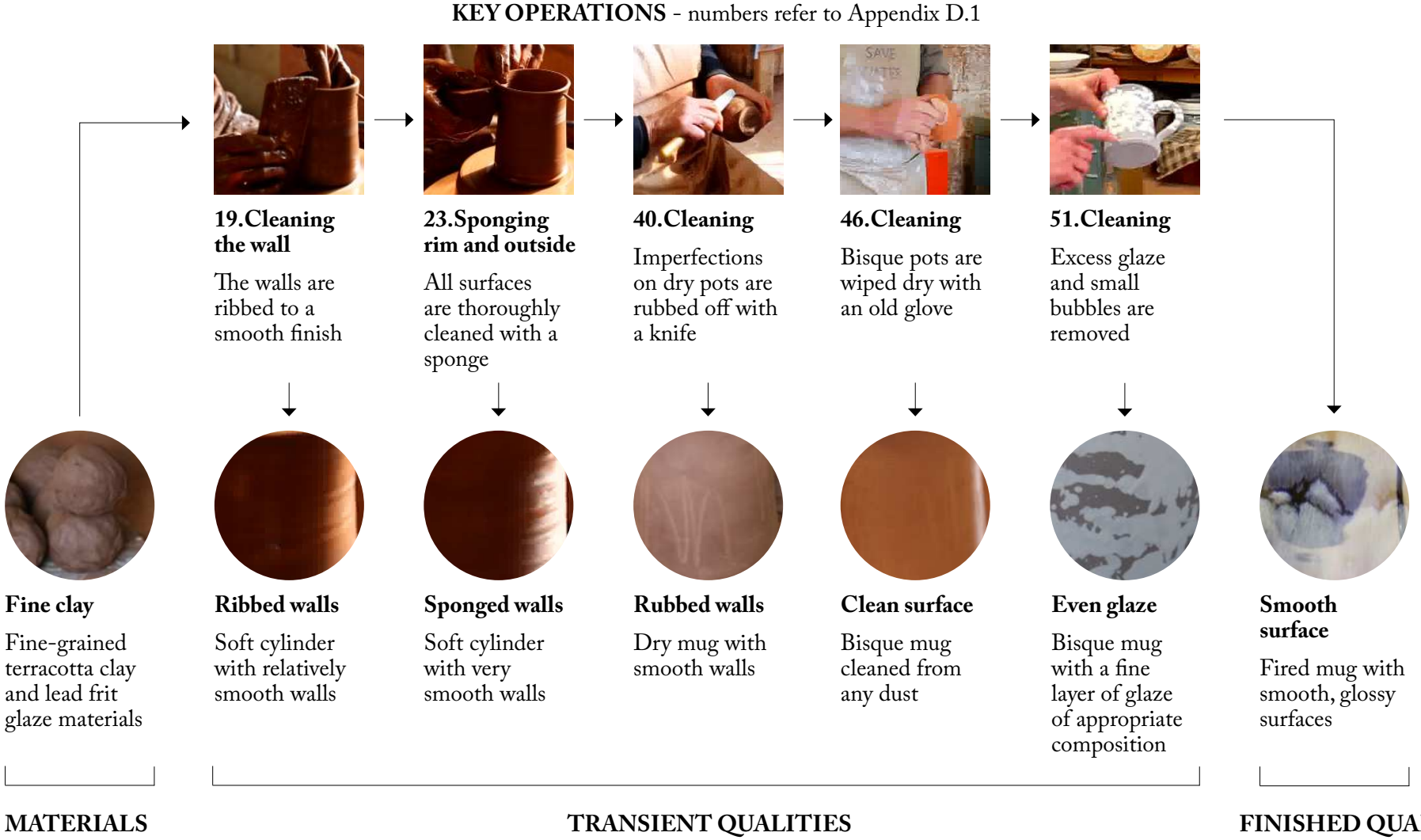

Figure 6.57 Diagram summarising the progressive transformation of transient qualities into the smooth surface of Ewenny ware through key operations. See Appendix D.1 for full analysis of the operational sequence.

Figure 6.58 The rough texture of the reproductions of the Ewenny mug (left and middle) against the original bisque (right).

Figure 6.59 The shiny and smooth surface of Ewenny ware on a barrel mug with brown splash glaze (photo: 5 Mar 2016).

Figure 6.60 Subtle differences in execution can be observed on green Leach ware (photo: 30 July 2016).

Figure 6.61 Marks visible at raw or bisque stage are typically softened or lost after glazing and firing (photo: 22 Apr 2016).

Figure 6.62 The detailed qualities of Maze Hill ware are particularly apparent at raw stage (photo: 23 May 2017).

Figure 6.63 Freshly slipped Maze Hill beer cups (photo: Gadsby, 2016a).

Ewenny pots appear smooth at all stages of production (Figure 6.57). The walls are thrown in only 2 or 3 pulls, ribbed thoroughly to a smooth finish and then sponged inside, on the rim and outside, in a continuous movement [Appendix D.1]. The sponged pots show no sign of corrections or false attempts. Once reached a consistency between leather-hard and dry, Jayne removes any residual grog or undulation by rubbing a metal knife on the surface. The bisque mugs are dusted off, the glaze is applied thinly and any extra drops building up on the surface are left to dry and scraped off with a knife, a sponge or fingers. Electric kilns ensure no impurities or unwanted variation is produced in the firings. Overall, these confidently executed measures transform carefully selected materials into the smooth surfaces of Ewenny ware (Figure 6.59).

6.6.2.2 Leach ware

At the Leach Pottery, many quality control procedures are employed to guarantee the correct development of the pots [Section 7.3.2] and the discard of substandard examples. Potters appreciate freshly thrown cylinders or pulled handles (LP42) and can anticipate how they will result in the desired effects once glazed and fired. The sensitive surfaces of green or bisque ware show surface qualities (Figure 6.60) which often soften or disappear in subsequent shrinkage, vitrification and glazing (Figure 6.61). For these reasons, intermediate stages are ideal to spot any wrongdoing or find evidence of good practice.

Some transient characteristics are eventually lost in the process but, if captured in the making, can be linked to personal methods and narratives. This concept is at the core of the analysis of salience discussed in Section 8.2.

6.6.2.3 Maze Hill ware

At Maze Hill, the absence of bisque firing meant the pots remained raw till the final stage. The qualities of unfired clay, fresh slips and oxides were apparent on most pots on display in the workshop (Figure 6.62). Florian repeatedly commented on the qualities of freshly slipped pots or pulled handles in his posts in social media:

> *"It's at this stage where I find them the most appealing visually, even more so than when they're fired" (Gadsby, 2016a; Figure 6.63).*

Consistency was partly assured at Maze Hill by Florian being in charge of the production of mugs and other simple typologies. As noted in Section 6.5.2.3, this was particularly

visible at raw stage, before the variation introduced by firing.

6.6.3 Evolution of qualities over time

The qualities of the contemporary ranges discussed in this study were developed across many batches produced over the years. A longitudinal study of designs and methods is outside the scope of this thesis, but some variation over time was observed and discussed with the potters. Two cycles of coding identified nodes such as "change", "evolution of design" and "history" [Appendix C]. Contextualising qualities in time can help distinguish resilient aspects of the potters' work from more contingent ones [thus informing the analysis of salience in Chapter 8].

The complex co-evolution of designs, qualities and processes is shaped by factors such as conditions of work, technologies, team composition, and development of skills and knowledge. The progressive refinement of craftsmanship is especially key in workshops which employ apprentices, such as the Leach and Maze Hill. Design adaptations can be introduced to respond to the ever-changing demands of the market (e.g. the use of transfers at Ewenny, discussed below). Typologies are added or modified, new skills are put to best use and ranges develop in new directions.

6.6.3.1 Ewenny ware

The mug provides a useful example to trace changes in Ewenny ware over the years. The current 'straight' mug (described in Section 6.2.2) is the end point of a constant evolution in design, materials and processes which can be traced at least since the 1930s (see Figures on page 294). Specimens made over the decades show a progressive tendency towards taller and more upwards shapes, a pronounced lip, thicker pulled handles, richer and glossier glazes, and, more generally, a higher quality and consistency of materials. Slow changes were introduced over almost 90 years only through making, and never planned or drawn on paper.

Arguably, the rim on the mugs made at the time of Alun's grandfather David John shows a weakness common to many handmade drinking vessels (Figure 6.64), which Hopper describes as "looking as though the clay ran out just before it got to where it was supposed to go" (2000: p.137). Since 1970s, Alun gradually improved it into a more inviting lip, flaring out from the cylinder to invite the mouth (Figure 6.67). He confirmed "when a pot

Figure 6.64 1937 Ewenny mug made for the coronation of King Edward VIII.

Figure 6.65 Inscribed Ewenny mug from 1940s.

Figure 6.66 1969 Ewenny mug showing a transfer celebrating the investiture of Prince Charles.

Figure 6.67 1981 Ewenny mug with a transfer celebrating the Royal Wedding.

Figure 6.68 1998 Ewenny mug in white clay, incised in Welsh.

Figure 6.69 Ewenny mug in grey splash glaze, from the current range.

Figure 6.70 A test bisque mug made at the Leach in 2015, with a handle pulled using an extruded coil (photo: 26 Apr 2016).

Figure 6.71 A good example of Leach mug with a handle pulled off the mug, starting from a pulled stub (photo: 15 Apr 2016).

just go straight it hasn't got a finishing" (EP21).

The current mug is a direct evolution of earlier designs (Figure 6.69). Its profile is more concave and the lip flares out in a more marked way. The old handles were pulled almost into their final shape, and then simply attached to the pots. Alun remembers learning that method in the old workshop, and later changing it to the current pulling method:

> *"The old way they used to use was to draw it out to the finished section, attach it and when they're pressing into the pot... the connection there is a little thinner than, you know, the rest of the section of the handle" (EP21).*

Alun's method creates a more natural profile and avoids the visual weakness of the old handles near the top joint, a feature that can still be seen in the exemplar in Figure 6.67. Despite being a later example it was probably handled by Alun's father Arthur (Research Journal, 2 Feb 2018), and is similar to the one from 1969 (Figure 6.66).

The glazes introduced by Alun at Ewenny also saw considerable changes. This began with the need to replace the lead-based glazes used in older times. As mentioned in Section 5.2.5, Alun explained the current glazes are harder and generally better (EP09). The celebratory mugs made between the end of 1960s and early 1980s show transfer prints over a light coating of splash glaze (Figure 6.66 and Figure 6.67), a solution later abandoned and unpopular among contemporary earthenware potters [transfers are discussed in Section 7.2.2].

Overall, the evolution of the mug highlights the importance of the rim profile, smooth walls, rich glazes and solid handles in the current design.

6.6.3.2 Leach ware

At the Leach, some cyclical variation over time derives from a gradual improvement in skills, and the eventual replacement of the potters with more junior staff. More permanent changes in making methods also impact on the qualities of the ware at different stages, as exemplified by the evolution of the mug's handle.

When the current workshop was set up in 2013, handles were pulled off the cylinders but, in 2015, inconsistent quality led Roelof to employ an extruder for making the basic coils (LP89). This ensured the correct shape and thickness, and led to a better standard of handles made across the diverse team (Figure 6.70). As the potters gained more

Figure 6.72 The new design of the small jug at bisque stage, unglazed (left) and glazed (right), (photo: 22 Apr 2016).

Figure 6.73 The height of mugs affects how easily they can be stored on shelves under bent boards (photo: 19 July 2016).

Figure 6.74 Mugs made at Maze Hill by various apprentices. From left: potter not identified, Billy Lloyd, Yogi Yamada, Yogi Yamada, Elvira Brown, Florian Gadsby, Kazuya Ishida, Darren Ellis (photo: 8 Dec 2016).

Figure 6.75 Florian's mug (left) resembles the one by Ellie (middle), who taught him the shape (photo: 8 Dec 2016).

Figure 6.76 Crackle glaze on a dolomite Leach mug developed over one year of regular use (photo: 18 May 2017).

confidence, pulled handles were re-introduced in January 2016 (Figure 6.71), shortly before the fieldwork for this study began. Whilst retaining the same 'soft seven' shape Roelof had introduced with his new range, the changes in methods inevitably resulted in subtle variation in qualities over the period. These are hard to capture in photos but apparent when the physical objects are inspected.

More abrupt changes in designs are introduced to repond to market demand. For example, in 2016, Roelof was redesigning the large jugs and Callum was practising the new shape (Research Journal, 12 Apr 2016). Other changes may be required for the optimisation of processes, as in the case of the small jug. Britta explained: "We had a small jug and it was just too narrow to get your hand in and a bit too high. So we made it a little bit smaller and squatted it and it was like double as quick to produce, and easier" (LP01). The change also increased the functionality of the pot, making it easier to wash (Figure 6.72).

Reducing the mug's height from 11.5 to 11 cm is another example of a small change which achieved various purposes at once. The mug was described by Roelof as looking "a little bit better" and being easier to make (LP89). Britta added that the reduced height helped storing the pots, as it left more space between their rims and the next board above them in the cabinet (Figure 6.73). This highlights the multiple considerations required in all aspects of production and the co-engineering of methods and designs.

6.6.3.3 Maze Hill ware

As mentioned in Section 6.5.2.3, the presence of a single apprentice at Maze Hill ensures some consistency, especially after the initial period of training. However, definite differences can also be observed in shapes, sizes and finishes across apprentices (Figure 6.74). Typically, Lisa does not closely demonstrate the mug to new apprentices, but let the previous one teach the new (MH07). In a promotional video, she commented on the differences in the espresso mugs made by her apprentices over the years:

> *"What I aim to do with these is not to… I don't want these people to be machines, they're not machines. So they reach a point where they've made something that's pretty similar to this but definitely it's got their own character in. And I can look back over the period of time when we had apprentices and I can tell you who made what mug. I can tell the little quirky handle or something they do with the handle or, you know, the form might slightly change, a little more barrel-like or a little straighter, a lip turning a little bit more in or out. So, you know, they have their own characters, which for me is really pleasing..." (Goldmark Gallery, 2012a).*

This was confirmed in conversations with her, Florian and Darren (MH05, MH07). Rather than the continuous evolution observed at Ewenny or the cyclical changes in Leach ware, Maze Hill pots show discreet differences corresponding to the periods various apprentices spent at the pottery. As one of Lisa's former apprentices, Darren described the mugs made by Yoji Yamada at Maze Hill: "his are really straight, really coned and very rounded at the base" (MH07). Darren based his own interpretation on Yoji's, as he favoured that shape. Florian identified Darren's from their straight walls and sharp bevel (Figure 6.74), which contrast with his own soft, curved interpretation of the design (Figure 6.75). Florian was initially instructed by Elvira Brown (Ellie), and incorporated the spiral he saw in her mugs in his own version (MH04).

The connections observed across mugs made over the years reflect the training model followed in the workshop, with new apprentices learning directly from their predecessors. Lisa's flexible design and approach to managing the workshop allow for variation over time, whilst ensuring high standards of quality and adequate training for her apprentices.

6.6.4 Qualities emerging from use

Finally, a few considerations can be added on the transformation of qualities with use. Authors emphasise how their aesthetic and sensory appreciation of functional pottery can only be completed by use, with the experience of its performance in action (Hopper, 2000: p.182; Rhodes, 1978: p.222). For Rhodes "The best way to study one's pottery is to use it" (ibid).

Though shapes remain unchanged over time and even breakages can be fixed, surface qualities are inevitably subject to some transformation. The look of aged pots can either spoil their appreciation or enhance it, thanks to "the patina of wear and age that adds to an object's value" (Weiss, 2016: p.46), sometimes interpreted through the Japanese concept of *sabi*. Writing about the influence of Japan on British tableware, Bloomfield also mentioned the importance of beauty through use in the tea ceremony (2013: p.14).

In the case studies, the pots' relationship with aging more straightforwardly revolved around their resilience to breaking, chipping or crazing. Changes in the ware over time were studied through personal use of the pots and observations carried out in the workshops. These are briefly discussed below.

6.6.4.1 Ewenny ware

As described in Section 5.2.3, the potters at Ewenny use their own pottery at home and for serving tea in the workshop. The smooth, predominantly dark surfaces are hard to stain with tea and coffee, and used pots do not appear to substantially differ from the new ones for sale in the shop. Caitlin mentioned having to discontinue sales to restaurants as the earthenware was not adequate for heavy usage[14] (EP09), but the sturdy forms appear resilient to domestic use. The clay body is relatively vitrified, especially when compared with Ewenny historical ware[15].

The resilience of Ewenny tableware confirms Alun's effort to maintain the characteristic style of Ewenny pottery - with its rounded edges, round handles, traditional shapes and splash glazes - whilst improving the functionality and durability of the range.

6.6.4.2 Leach ware

Leach ware is designed for durability and described as "hard-wear pots" by Kat (LP25). From observation and use of old pots on site, the range is generally resilient. Wearing can make any exposed clay surfaces lose their initial roughness, e.g. on the white dolomite pots.

Despite high firing temperatures (1280 °C) the body appears to be not entirely vitrified, and only emits a dull sound when hit. The resilience of the range is partly due to the hardness of the glazes, which provide an unbroken, relatively thick, glassy surface. The rims of the drinking vessels and the spouts of the jugs are more prone to chipping, as observed in some seconds and pots used in the kitchens on site. When Roelof redesigned the GP bowls, he introduced rolled rims. He explained about the new rim, "we needed to soften it because it was too sharp, it was too prone to chipping" (LP87).

A wide crackle pattern has developed in one of the dolomite mugs made during the work experience at the pottery in July 2016 (Figure 6.76, compare with Figure 6.31). This could be due to incorrect application of glaze, but Leach mugs with thicker glaze also show a

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14 Reportedly, customers also stole the ware (EP09).

15 The artisanal production of old Ewenny pottery meant that some antique examples have developed defects over time. As the pots are no more intended for use, the shivering of the glaze, a common issue in old Ewenny pots, has become a signifier for authenticity and added a patina of history to the old ware. The flaking of the slip and glaze is apparent on most museum examples of Ewenny ware, and on some of the old pots in the Jenkins family collection.

crackle which could stain over time, whereas the oribe and tenmoku glazes appear intact.

Kat fixes broken pots using the technique of *kintsugi*, i.e. the ancient Japanese art of lacquer and gold repair. In 2015, she exhibited an entire range of plates she made during her residency in Mashiko, Japan, which had unfortunately broken in transit (Research Journal, 11 Apr 2016).

6.6.4.3 Maze Hill ware

Maze Hill pots over time develop a softer surface and lose the initial sharpness produced by the harsh conditions of the atmospheric firings. Arguably, the rustic finish of the soda range welcomes the patina acquired over time and usage. The liner glaze inside the mugs can develop a light stain, but the hard surfaces are otherwise resilient to change. Some very minor chipping was observed in the pots used at the pottery, but they were likely seconds and any issues may not be representative of the ware sold to customers.

Maze Hill pottery's organic style and its association with Japan also lends itself to fixing broken pots with *kintsugi*. In 2015, Lisa participated in an event in collaboration with lacquer artists Muneaki Shimode and Takahiko Sato from Kyoto, during which some of her pots were restored.

6.7 Conclusions

Ethnographic exposure to potters in their work environments and direct experimentation with their processes enriched the detailed examination of physical characteristics of the ware. Quality control measures and information on training were extensively discussed with the potters and pointed out key design and manufacturing considerations. The discussion demonstrates the effectiveness of the research approach in addressing limitations encountered in current literature [summarised in Section 2.3].

By analysing and testing production processes, the study could gather insights on qualities which would not have been apparent by only inspecting products, e.g. differences in the spirals added to the floor of mugs at the Leach and Maze Hill potteries. The richness of this analysis, rooted in ethnography and personal practice, informs an in-depth appreciation of the specific qualities of each range examined, and particularly of the three mugs. The resolution is higher than in most pottery literature, and the photos complement - rather

than replace - points made in the text [Section 2.3, point B].

The analysis of professional batch production has covered considerations of consistency which remain largely underexamined in literature. Minor differences in the ware produced within a team would have been hard to identify without the potters' knowledge of the products and a close engagement with processes. In some cases, characteristics could be linked to individual potters, adding insights to more generic recollections of variation found in published material (e.g. John Bedding in Tyas, 2014). Notes on the gradual creation of qualities in the ware, the evolution of the designs and their resilience to daily use enriched the discussion of qualities, adding a temporal perspective.

The study has embraced the variety of British hand-thrown tableware and rejected the partiality of views encountered in personal accounts of pottery practices [Section 2.3, point C]. The pots belong to different traditions and approaches, and were judged against the standards set by their makers. This enabled the appreciation of alternative - even contrasting - qualities across cases: e.g. the rusticity of Maze Hill surfaces alongside the glass-like shine on Ewenny pots, or the flat handle of a Leach mug and the round section of an Ewenny one.

In the quote at the start of the chapter, Rhodes reminds us that much thought goes into making a seemingly simple typology such as an everyday mug (1978: p.134). Similar design considerations are the focus of much literature on pottery making. Hopper asks rhetorically:

> *"Just how does a cup, mug, or goblet rim feel between the lips? How does a handle feel? How many fingers fit comfortably between the handle and the body of the object? How many fingers are needed to comfortably lift the object without any undue strain? Would the handle be better if it were curved in another way?" (2000: p.103).*

In addition to analysing the designs, the study reveals other factors are involved in making commercial hand-thrown tableware. The examination of physical characteristics has begun to define the material and cultural contexts in which the pots are produced, beyond considerations of aesthetics, functionality and craftsmanship [Section 2.3, point H]. The study shows the ware is the result of unique combinations of working conditions, composition of teams, division of labour and other aspects related to the production processes. The next chapter will expand on the narratives which shaped the pots.

7. Narratives

> *"The uniqueness of craft is that [...] it has both a "natural" life and a social life. Because of this, craft does go beyond the purely functional; or more properly, the purely functional in craft is never pure but is always latent with meaning"*
>
> *(Risatti, 2007: p.229).*

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses concepts, ideas, values, stories and meanings attached to the making of tableware in the case study workshops, including those relating to processes, materials, tools, potters and the pots they produce. As per the analysis of qualities, the making of mugs is used to discuss the production of tableware more broadly, by eliciting knowledge and drawing direct comparisons across cases.

Craft authors identify "things, properties, and characteristics regularly attributed to the meaning of craft, craftwork, and craftspeople" (Marchand, 2016: p.9). Through an analysis of making processes, this study engages with interpretations of the potters' actions, i.e. their origins and purposes. Collectively, these interpretations highlight narratives which are closely interwoven with the pots made in the three workshops and define the potters' distinct practices.

Art historian Howard Risatti reminds us in the quote above that even a 'purely' functional craft has latent meanings (2007: p.229). Some of the narratives discussed here are explicitly used to promote the products (e.g. in person, in publications or online), others were revealed by the analysis conducted for this study. The discussion is built on material from conversations with the potters about their work, but also relies on the interpretation of processes observed, recorded and tested during the study. This is used to identify key themes which define fundamental aspects of the work carried out in the workshops, and so contribute to addressing the aims of the study set out in Section 1.2.1 and answering the research question RQ2: "What narratives are associated with the making of contemporary British hand-thrown tableware?".

Ewenny Pottery	Leach Pottery	Maize Hill Pottery
History	Personal methods	Issues
Origin of methods	Origin of methods	Training
Design	Teaching	Origin of methods
Personal preference	Training	Other potters
Efficiency	Operational management	Teaching
Operational management	Other potters	Variation
Change	Personal tools	Personal methods
Issues	Quality control	Design
Selling	Design	Level of experience
Tradition	Issues	Way of throwing
Anecdotes	Level of experience	Clay at the right stage
Drawings and measurements	Difficult to make	Personal expression
Education	Efficiency	Speed
Other potters	Selling	Anecdotes
Personal methods	Jack Doherty	Operational management
Words and names	Personal expression	Awareness
Awareness	Standard ware	Drawings and measurements
Functionality	Atmosphere in the pottery	Functionality
Influence inspiration	Change	Influence inspiration
Preventing issues	Practicing	Personal tools

Table 7.1 Top 20 codes identified for each case study in the first cycle of coding of interview and conversation transcripts, in order of frequency.

Technical narratives	Biographical narratives	Socio-cultural narratives
Efficiency and economy	Personal attitude	Country pottery
Teaching	Anatomy and injuries	Family tradition
Commercial production	Personal expression	Functionality
Quality control	Skill levels	Design awareness
Transmission of techniques	Personal methods	Studio pottery
Use of tools	Training	Oriental influence
Production volume		Leach tradition
Standardisation		Production pottery
Variation in output		Change and innovation

Table 7.2 Key narratives identified across case studies, divided into indicative categories for ease of reference.

The study illustrates how the materiality of processes and qualities, and the mediacy of narratives are co-productive. Distinctions are only used as dialectical tools to elicit further knowledge by dissecting and examining aspects of the potters' work in isolation. The discussion of narratives of hand-thrown tableware complements that of qualities presented in Chapter 6, and develops themes already identified there. Narratives help contextualise descriptions of physical qualities (McErlain, 2002: p.39) and provide interpretive explanations (Neuman, 2014: p.84) for the potters' making methods analysed in Chapter 8. In fact, the next chapter will complete the discussion of narratives by showing their interrelation with processes.

7.1.1 Identifying narratives

As explained in Section 3.2.9.3, all material generated in the study was coded following a code to theory protocol (Saldaña, 2009: p.11). The first cycle of descriptive coding was conducted in Nvivo for all interview transcripts. Each word or sentence was grouped under one or more categories. A total of 99 codes were identified for narratives. The top twenty for each case are shown in Table 7.1[1] and a complete list across cases is included in Appendix C.2. Empathic coding of processes was conducted by making the ware in the manner of the participants observed, as described in Section 3.2.9.4. This produced further notes on processes, coded by category and collected in the research journal.

The second cycle of textual coding grouped codes identified in Nvivo, those defined in the research journal and references from literature on the case studies into larger themes. A "theme is an outcome of coding, categorization, and analytic reflection" (Saldaña, 2009: p.13). The narratives discussed are the themes identified in the analysis of all material (e.g. 'efficiency and economy' or 'family tradition'), sometimes coinciding with concepts already identified as codes in the transcripts (e.g. 'personal methods' or 'teaching'). Finally, video analysis proved effective in assessing themes against the visual evidence of making processes, as illustrated in this chapter and the next.

Across cases, the study identified key narratives which relate to technical, biographical and socio-cultural aspects of the potters' work (Table 7.2). Technical narratives expand

1 The list does not include codes such as 'filming', 'interviewing' or 'my research', which were used to note references to the presence of the researcher on site.

mechanical descriptions of processes to include, for example, considerations on economy of process, production volume, quality control and commercial production. Biographical narratives engage with personal histories of training, injuries and other anatomical traits, aspects relating to personal expression and, more generally, the personality of individual potters[2]. Socio-cultural narratives may refer to traditions, Oriental influences, notions of functionality and design awareness. They also include references to broad approaches to making such as country, studio or production pottery.

Most narratives listed in Table 7.2 are presented in the sections below through a discussion of three main themes identified for each workshop. The interpretations of the potters work described in this chapter will be developed in Chapter 8, in which all key narratives will be linked to making operations.

7.2 Key narratives at Ewenny

7.2.1 Family tradition

At Ewenny, conversations insisted on the potters' adherence to family tradition. Like the traditional potters described by Henry Glassie, the Jenkins carry out "the potter's art by selecting the best from the past and holding to old forms and techniques" (Glassie, 1999: p.90). The modern history of the Ewenny workshops coincides with that of the Jenkins family. Mentions of techniques frequently brought to the surface stories about grandfathers and great uncles. Alun repeatedly stated that his methods came from their ancestors, kept largely unchanged at least since the mid-20th century:

> *"everything, the way I work is what I've learned off my forebears, you know, and they learned off their forebears" (EP16).*

Caitlin summarised the pottery's respect of tradition in a section of their website titled "A potted history":

> *"Ewenny Pottery today operates, in many ways, the same as it did hundreds of years ago. Although modern machines and kilns help us, the process and skills remain passed*

2 Biographical material about the potters is discussed only when relevant to the discussion of processes or qualities. For example, Britta's experience in New Zealand (Research Journal, 29 Apr 2016) influenced the introduction of roulette decoration on the standard ware jugs at the Leach. Caitlin's comparable experience in the same country (EP06) is mentioned in Section 4.2.3.2 but is not linked to key aspects of her work.

down from one generation to the next" (Ewenny Pottery, 2017).

The findings of the study confirm the influence of the potters' legacy and at the same time assess the extent to which old styles and methods are reflected in the current designs, processes, tools, machinery, typologies, and general approach to making (as discussed in Section 7.2.2).

The aesthetic style of many Ewenny pots, their materials, shapes and decoration, are reminiscent of previous ranges produced at the pottery. Some contemporary designs are made in imitation of earlier pieces, such as Caitlin's cat sculptures, money boxes (Figure 7.1) and other sgraffito work, including tableware such as incised jugs and mugs. Other typologies were more continuously produced by the last few generations of potters, as discussed about the evolution of the mug in Section 6.6.3.1. These are decorated with splash glaze, a finish which was introduced by Alun's grandfather David John Jenkins in the 1920s, probably at imitation of art pottery (EP09), and used continuously for almost a hundred years.

The distinction between 'revived' pieces and forms evolved over time is attenuated by much continuity in tools, machinery and making methods observed across the range. Many tools used at Ewenny were tried and tested over many years, largely derived from older examples and not purchased from suppliers, as common among studio potters. Also, unlike the other case studies, all tools are shared among the potters (EP15). As the potters continue to make many of the old designs, ribs and kidneys used today can be shaped after old ones, even if materials may differ (Figure 7.2 and Figure 7.3). A type of 'thickness gauge' first introduced by Alun's grandfather is still reproduced and used today for larger pots (Figure 7.4).

The scales and mass weights used to weigh the balls of clay came from the old workshop (EP15). Together with many old tools, pots' sizes and weights were passed down to Alun and are still indicated in imperial units. The volume contained by each typology is measured in pints and liquid ounces, the medium mug being approximately half a pint, but the connection with older measurements goes further. Caitlin explained they "work in pounds and ounces... and little bits" (EP05). The 'bit' is a small metal object left on the scales when weighing balls of clay (Figure 7.5). It corresponds to 34 grams but the potters were not aware of its weight until it was measured during fieldwork. Alun explained the

Figure 7.1 Historical Ewenny money boxes from 19th c. in the Museum of Wales in Cardiff (left; photos: ewennypottery.com , accessed 23/10/2016) and a contemporary example made by Caitlin at imitation of old Ewenny ware, with sgraffito decoration (right; photo: 3 Mar 2016).

Figure 7.2 Kidneys currently in use (2nd and 3rd from left) between historical equivalents (photos: 30 Sept 2016).

Figure 7.3 Rib used at Ewenny in the past (left) and new steel rib (right) used for the mugs (photos: 30 Sept 2016).

Figure 7.4 Thickness gauges used at Ewenny and based on old models (photo: 4 Mar 2016).

Figure 7.5 A small mass (i.e. the 'bit') is left on the scales to adjust its inaccuracy (photo: 30 Sept 2016).

'bit' probably originated as a small ball of dry clay used by his predecessors to correct the inaccuracy of the scales, and only later replaced by a metal mass (EP21). Rather than changing scales and weighing clay more accurately, the potters continue the habit of having a 'bit' on the old scales and referring to previous measures.

The analysis of processes shows the legacy of Ewenny also lives on in procedures and techniques employed in the current workshop. The glazing methods used by Alun and Caitlin are so close that personal preference is only expressed by the quantity of glaze applied (EP15), rather than visible variation on procedures. Unusually, the mugs are held by the handle, dipped in glaze, left to dry and dipped again in the same glaze [Appendix D.1]. This closely replicates old methods and was never questioned by the potters, who believe it is an efficient way to perform the task (EP16).

Alun's and Caitlin's methods and techniques are very similar across all phases of production. A video collage prepared for the analysis (EP_v01) compares two throwing sessions filmed at different times on the same afternoon. After individually filming the potters throwing a few mug cylinders, the shortest sessions were displayed side by side. Video analysis conducted for the study demonstrates great similarity in the type, order and duration of operations in which Alun and Caitlin shape the clay at the wheel. At times their actions appear synchronised (Figure 7.6).

The handling methods used by the two potters are also very close, as discussed in more detail in Section 8.2.4. Personal methods are adaptations of the same techniques, rather than the distinct approaches more often observed in the other workshops (discussed in Section 7.3.1 below).

Attempts to replicate the Ewenny mug showed that closely following the potters' techniques was an effective way to achieve the characteristics intended for the ware. Any variation in pulling, handling and even sponging resulted in deviation from the qualities of the original mugs. Results improved as the procedures captured in videos were followed more closely.

The close execution of operations across the entire process is likely testimony of the strict learning environment Caitlin received at the pottery, which replicated Alun's experience in 1960s, as also claimed by the potters (EP15). The available evidence appears to support this

Figure 7.6 Alun (left) and Caitlin (right) adding the foot (video stills: 3 Mar 2016).

Figure 7.7 A still from a short historical film about Ewenny, showing Arthur Jenkins in the process of 'benching' a block of clay (left, video stills: Ladybird Cine Group, n.d. (1960s)). Alun performing the same task during fieldwork (right, video stills: 24 Feb 2016).

view. A film from the family archive confirms the continuity with methods used by Arthur Jenkins, i.e. Alun's father (Ladybird Cine Group, n.d. (1960s)). The scenes follow the making of pots in the old workshop, and show Arthur working clay at various stages. The filmed processes are somewhat staged and edited but the actions are most likely indicative of the methods employed in the pottery.

The wedging scenes closely resemble the method Alun demonstrated during fieldwork in 2016, down to the exact sequence of movements and the angle of the clay block before it is cut with the wire (indicated by the red arrow in Figure 7.7). The potters refer to the wedging operation as 'benching' - a term passed on by Arthur Jenkins – and Caitlin only learned the term 'wedging' at university (Research Journal, 13 Feb 2016). The operation shows little variation occurred over time, except Caitlin developed a less strenuous technique (EP15). This traditional method of wedging is described in literature (e.g. McErlain, 2002: p.72) but Alun and Caitlin's exact actions (and their naming) came from Arthur.

Numerous connections to both family and country pottery traditions were observed throughout the operational sequence in techniques observed on site, as discussed in Chapter 8. Overall, the respect of family traditions is a dominant narrative at Ewenny, actively promoted by the potters beyond a mere imitation of typologies and aesthetics. Observation, reflection and video analysis provide evidence of the transmission of traditional skills and knowledge which characterise the practice.

7.2.2 Adaptation

The discussion of change as a key narrative at Ewenny may appear counter-intuitive, considering the traditional settings and history of the pottery, but folklore scholars recognise adaptation is a key component of tradition (Glassie, 1995: p.395). At Ewenny, old practices were kept alive by implementing many changes. This was not emphasised by the potters during fieldwork, but evidence emerged from the coding of the conversations [e.g. under the codes 'design' , 'origins of methods' and 'change' listed in Appendix C] and the analysis of the operational sequence.

Alun's statement that he learned everything from his forebears (EP16) was challenged

Figure 7.8 A 1981 Ewenny mug showing a transfer about the Royal Wedding (left), a 1969 mug with a transfer about the investiture of Prince Charles (middle) and a 1937 mug about the coronation of Edward VIII, in sgraffito on a white earthenware body (right).

Figure 7.9 A Baron Barnstaple mug made in North Devon at approximately the same time as the green Ewenny mug on the right in Figure 7.8. The base shows a similar cursive pottery signature to historical and current Ewenny pots.

Figure 7.10 Alun fixing the terracotta hump. The twig gauge is visible on the right (video still: 4 Mar 2016).

Figure 7.11 A bisque wassail bowl and other 'revival' ware made at Ewenny (photo: 30 Sept 2016).

by his own accounts of the multiple changes he introduced to materials, forms and glaze recipes. A historical study falls out of the scope of this thesis, but some considerations can be made based on the evolution of the mug design. As discussed in Section 6.6.3.1, improvements to cylinders and handles exemplify Alun's focus on the functionality of the range, and the influence of his ceramic studies at university. The raw oxides and lead glazes previously used at Ewenny had to be replaced for safety reasons, and Alun started a long-lasting process of experimentation with new glaze recipes and materials, which to a smaller extent continues today[3].

Alun's interest in glaze chemistry is responsible for much innovation in the materials used at Ewenny since the 1970s, inspired by the teachings of Alan Barret-Danes at the Cardiff School of Art. As already mentioned in Section 5.2.5, by his own admission the current glazes are harder and more reliable than those previously employed (EP09).

Printed transfers were used between the end of 1960s to early 1980s for celebratory mugs (Figure 7.8). The technique was brought in by Alun from college, where a graphic designer had introduced it to the students. He explained transfers had to be ordered in large numbers and later their use no longer suited the pottery, and plain splash glaze decoration was favoured (EP12). Arguably, the mugs made in that period appear at odds with the more traditional style of Ewenny, and especially with the slipware re-introduced by Caitlin. However, transfers represent a successful solution to produce pots for royal commemorative events - in line with long-standing family and country pottery traditions - with the resources and technologies available at the time. Alun and Jayne produced a large number of mugs for the Silver Jubilee in 1977, the sales of which boosted their business and allowed them to move to the larger premises they occupy today (EP09). By deviating from typical 'country pottery' aesthetics they could preserve old methods and train the next generation. This practical approach contrasts with the revivalist focus on slipware aesthetics (conducted with modern techniques) by studio potters such as Mary Wondrausch (2001), and more recently by Paul Jessop, Doug Fitch and Hannah McAndrew [Appendix A.1].

In the last two decades, Caitlin brought further innovation into the workshop, informed by her ceramic studies and experience abroad. She introduced new tableware shapes (EP14)

3 In September 2016 Alun was trying to replicate a green glaze used before his time, which was fired at a lower temperature than the current 1100 °C (Research Journal, 29 Sept 2016).

- described as 'variations' on previous designs (EP16) - and more decorative historical pots (Figure 7.11). She also developed a personal preference in the ways operations should be carried out, e.g. the application of the splash glaze (EP15).

When issues with lignite in the terracotta clay purchased from the same supplier in Stoke-on-Trent for over 30 years led to bubbles in the glaze, the potters promptly replaced it with clay from another supplier, which is darker in colour (EP15). This shows their pragmatic approach in privileging production at the cost of differences in aesthetics, and how adaptation allowed them to respond to ever-changing conditions.

7.2.3 Country pottery

The terms 'country pottery' and 'country potters' were used sparingly in conversations[4] but the concept underlined many aspects discussed with Alun, Caitlin and Jayne on site. Traditions at Ewenny are not only related to the Jenkins family, but typify an approach to making which was widespread in the country until the late 19th century and has since then largely disappeared (McGarva, 2000: p.16). The approach of historical British country pottery can be associated with the production of functional ware for a local community, made efficiently in great quantities and sold at reasonable prices. Materials, skill-force and techniques often originated in the local area, with tools made by the potters with materials readily available and machinery employed to increase commercial output (ibid: pp.8-16).

The influences of historical British country pottery on contemporary practices lacks a comprehensive study, which could have benefited this thesis. However, some connections can be made between characteristics observed on site and the knowledge of past practices documented in specialist films and publications [Section 2.1.5.3].

Similarities between the mugs produced at Ewenny in the 1930s (Figure 7.8, right) and those made at Barnstaple at the same time (Figure 7.9) suggest the close connections not only with family tradition, but with other historical British potteries. Despite differences in design, the mugs show a similar decoration, the top joint of the handle is comparable, the forms are completed at the wheel and not turned. Also, both bases are inscribed with the

4 Caitlin only mentioned it in relation to Mary Wondrausch's description of Ewenny in her book on slipware (EP14) and Alun to explain the inspiration for changing the way the handles are pulled (EP21).

name of the pottery in cursive, a feature which survives in Ewenny ware but is uncommon among contemporary British practices.

Many methods passed on to Alun and Caitlin from their ancestors are typical of country practices. The making of bespoke ribs, cutting wires and other tools 'in house' was common practice in the past (McGarva, 2000: p.52). The thickness gauge described above was also used at the Dicker Pottery in Sussex (ibid: p.53). The simple use of a twig on a ball of clay as a pointer (Figure 7.10) is sometimes adopted by studio potters (e.g. by Lisa and Jordan among the participants), but at Ewenny its lineage was uninterrupted. The use of a hump to raise the throwing level [Section 5.2.3] was common in potteries in the south of England (ibid: p.73; Figure 7.10).

As per family traditions, connections with old country pottery practices can be analysed not only in terms of designs, tools and machinery, but in embodied techniques employed in making the ware (e.g. ways of centring, wedging or handling). For example, the method of 'benching' discussed in Section 7.2.1 corresponds to the one described by McGarva (2000: p.40). The need to wedge clay in contemporary workshops is largely replaced by the introduction of pugmills, and even at Ewenny 'benching' is only performed when the noise and action of the pugmill are considered inappropriate. Alun demonstrated his skills with notable pride during fieldwork, perhaps conscious of their increasing rarity among potters.

In addition to correlations between contemporary methods employed at Ewenny and those typical of country potters in the past, the observation of processes revealed a general attitude to making tableware which is self-reliant, economical and rooted in local traditions. The term 'economical' was mentioned multiple times by Alun when asked to describe his approach (e.g. EP02, EP09, EP16). For him, "the more it's done on the wheel the more economical it becomes". The 'foot' is not turned but simply impressed at the end of a throwing session (Figure 7.6).

Economy of means and actions requires great skills in execution. Video analysis shows the operational sequence for the mug comprises fewer steps, takes less time and requires a minimum use of water when compared with other case studies. In fact, there is no sink on the premises, just a tap and a bucket. All water and glazes are reused in the process (EP16). Similar considerations are noted about their handling process in Section 8.2.4.

As seen in Section 2.2, many contemporary potters continue to work in earthenware and are inspired by the aesthetics and production methods of old British country pottery. The slipware work available for commission at Ewenny, and the more recent slipware designs made by Caitlin can also be read in those terms. However, the study demonstrates a country pottery attitude is integral to the way the Ewenny potters operate and their historical techniques are not revivalist adoptions from others' practices.

In an article in *Interpreting Ceramics*, Jeffrey Jones identified Littlethorpe and Ewenny potteries as still working in the tradition of small, local country potteries. About Ewenny, in contrast to studio makers, he noted "that the potters continue to make a living almost entirely through passing trade" (2000). This study shows the legacy of country pottery is present not only in the sales model, designs and typologies used at Ewenny, but in processes, tools, machinery and general approach to making. Further connections will be discussed throughout Chapter 8, especially in relation to centring, ribbing and handling.

7.3 Key narratives at the Leach

7.3.1 Personal methods

The Leach Pottery employs a diverse team of potters to make a range of tableware of consistent quality (i.e. the 'standard ware'). Similarly to Lisa at Maze Hill, Roelof and other senior staff recognise potters may have developed their own style of making (i.e. technological style) by the time they join the pottery. For the most part, 'bad habits' are only identified and corrected if they lead to undesired results, and processes are standardised to the extent required to ensure consistency in output (LP87).

Much variation in techniques and approaches was identified across the team and discussed with the potters using the process matrix as a systematic guide to collect and compare data [extract in Appendix B.2]. As observed in Section 6.5.2.2, variation includes deliberate deviation from standard instructions received in the workshop and differences in technological styles.

The high resolution of the study led to observe minute variations which, in some cases, were simply explained as personal preference and comfort, and not linked to significant narratives. Examples include the finger configuration used for compressing the base or

adding the line to break the glaze under the rim, and preferences in setting up the pointer in preparation for throwing.

More frequently, variation could be associated with training histories and personal narratives. A split-screen video collage (LP_v01) made for the study shows six potters (i.e. all except Roelof) throwing the mug cylinder. As per the equivalent video made at Ewenny (EP_v01), the potters were filmed making a few pots each on the same afternoon, one after the other, using their own tools but sitting at the same wheel (Figure 7.12). This proved an effective tool to visualise the great variation observed across the Leach team in performing the same operations, and direct comparisons informed the analysis of the operational sequence.

Much variation was due to different skill levels across the team. Some potters were cautious about their wedging skills and chose to knead clay balls before throwing, whilst others (e.g. Jordan) confidently skipped the extra step. Potters recognised Britta's method of pulling stubs of clay off a long coil for handling was preferable but difficult to achieve, and so chose to make stubs from a shorter coil (e.g. Matt, LP42). Callum used a metal scraper to make the bevel at the base of the mug, as he found it easier than using the bamboo (LP16, Figure 7.13). This created a sharp edge that was smoothed with a finger, arguably losing the freshness of a single bamboo cut.

Evidence of variation due to skill level was also gathered through the video analysis of Matt's throwing procedure at different stages in his apprenticeship[5] [included in Appendix E.1]. The time Matt needed to throw the shape almost halved from about 5 to less than 2 and a half minutes between April and August 2016, and to less than 2 minutes by September 2017. Matt had reduced the number of operations from 36 to 21, and learned to use water only 9 times instead of the initial 20. Excessive use of water is a typical sign of inexperience. Most savings came from skipping unnecessary operations, and only in minor part from performing the same operations faster.

Personal narratives can enrich the appreciation of unique handmade products by challenging a straightforward association of the ware with the workshop, especially when

5 The results of the analysis were first presented at the Digitally Engaged Learning conference, held in London on 14th and 15th September 2017, and published in Spark journal (Salani, 2018).

Figure 7.12 The split screen video LP_v01 shows six Leach potters side by side, making the same mug cylinder design at the same wheel, to emphasise discrepancies among their methods of conducting the same operations (video still: 20 Apr 2016).

Figure 7.13 Callum using a metal scraper to cut the bevel (video still: 20 Apr 2016).

Figure 7.14 Matt using a plastic pastry scraper as rib (video still: 20 Apr 2016).

Figure 7.15 Jordan setting up his paintbrush on a lump of clay (video still: 12 Apr 2016).

Figure 7.16 A small groove can be noticed under the rim of a Leach dolomite mug (photo: 31 Jan 2018).

variation in making methods results in physical characteristics traceable in the final ware. As discussed in Section 6.3.2.2.7, the spiral added by Britta and Kat to the floor of the mugs is testimony of their experiences in the workshop run by Jack Doherty. Also, the wavy pattern left by Britta on the bases with the serrated wire expresses a personal desire to leave a recognisable mark on the ware she produces (LP88). Approaches to making which were shaped at early stages of training continue to dictate the potters' work in other environments. Britta's neat and precise approach, which originated in her formal apprenticeship in Germany, is discussed more extensively in the context of ribbing in Section 8.2.3.5.

Methods which appear similar may have disparate origins. For example, Roelof adopted the use of a simple stick as a gauge when throwing as a self-reliant country potter in South Africa and later in London (LP86). Jordan was inspired by watching country potters and liked the simplicity of the tool, so he used a paintbrush on a lump of clay even when other pointers were available (Research Journal, 29 July 2016)

Arguably, the soft plastic handmade qualities of Leach ware can accommodate minor variation produced across the team, which simply adds to the uniqueness of the products. Whether affecting qualities in the final ware or only visible in the making, the narratives uncovered by the study contribute to the knowledge of the ware and can increase its appreciation by establishing connections with its makers and their ways of working.

7.3.2 Quality control

To ensure the diverse team can reproduce the desired qualities, the production of the Leach standard ware is largely governed, as the name would suggest, by design specifications and standard methods. If variation is to some extent embraced by the serendipitous soda firings at Maze Hill (as discussed in Section 7.4.2 below), it is minimised at the Leach, where reliable glazes and kilns are used. Unlike Alun and Caitlin at Ewenny, who largely embodied standards of consistency in their everyday actions over many years of practice, the Leach potters require explicit measures to ensure a reliable output. Notably, division of labour enables mutual checks among potters, but also requires procedures to ensure qualities are not lost as the process advances.

As discussed in Section 6.5.2.2, standardisation is required for selling the pots to wholesale customers, who expect high consistency within and among batches (Research Journal, 29 July 2016). Online sales also require the ability to match qualities with images and descriptions provided on the website. Overall this makes quality control procedures an essential component of the operations.

Mugs go through a rigorous control procedure. Responsibility for checking the pots at all stages is distributed across the team, as division of labour means potters often hand pots over to others. Issues can be spotted and raised by junior potters even on aspects of the work which they have not mastered themselves (LP16). Many methods to prevent variation at the Leach are standard procedures in production pottery: exact measures and weights of clay, the use of a gauge when throwing and a densimeter to measure the water content in the glaze. Relatively simple operations such as inspecting cylinders before attaching a handle, and loading or emptying the bisque kiln offer opportunities to check the quality of a batch and discard substandard pots. The importance of these simple tasks is indicated by the frequency in which Roelof carries them out, despite being monotonous and easy to delegate (Research Journal, 20 July 2016).

Quality is also increased by having senior potters carry out more demanding or riskier operations (e.g. Roelof's involvement in most glazing and firing) or supervise junior staff (e.g. Kat handling mugs alongside Matt to check his progress, LP42).

Measures introduced to guarantee consistency in quality can leave traces on the final ware, as in the case of the extruded handles produced in 2015 [described in Section 6.6.3.2]. Another example, which continues to be employed, is the line incised under the rim to glaze it neatly, which may remain visible through the glaze (Figure 7.16).

Providing and encouraging the use of standard tools are other explicit ways to ensure consistency. The quality of the bevel relies on the correct use of the same bamboo tool, made by Roelof for the team. Also, the twisted cutting wire, although used differently by some potters, is made in-house from the same bundle of wire to leave similar marks on the bases.

Like at Maze Hill, higher consistency is achieved by promoting some specialism within the team, and giving responsibility for certain tasks to single potters. In April 2016, a

great proportion of the mugs was made by Jordan. His loose approach could result in inconsistent forms (LP89), but variation appeared to have increased after he left, when Kat, Matt and Laurence were in charge (Research Journal, 20 July 2016). By contrast, the porcelain mugs were all made by Kat and showed a consistency rarely matched by their stoneware equivalent.

Quality control measures act as explicit checks and reminders of standards, and as instructions to be learned and followed in the future without the need for further input. Precise instructions can guide the execution of complex operations, such as glazing and firing, but can also lead to the blind application of rules. This is illustrated by an anecdote from July 2016, when Roelof offered feedback to Lexie on a few boards of espresso mugs she had thrown and handled (LP54). A light groove can guide the glazing of the rim and blend under the thick glaze, but a very deep mark can remain visible and leave a sharp edge. Roelof provided detailed feedback to Lexie on the operation, while warning the team about being conscious of the purpose of each action.

7.3.3 Teaching / training

The Leach Pottery is a fertile environment in which potters can acquire professional skills (following the Leach Trust's mission discussed in Section 4.3.1.2) while producing a commercial range which sustains the enterprise financially. The way in which these multiple aims are achieved while maintaining a friendly and stimulating environment is testimony of the serious commitment of the potters and the merits of Roelof's leadership.

The pottery maintains contacts with a network of former Leach apprentices, their apprentices and other potters who take inspiration from the Anglo-Oriental approach to making ceramics. National and international potters are regularly invited to exhibit and give masterclasses in St. Ives[6], and many more visit the museum and workshop every year. The close collaborations established within the team and with its connections provide the current Leach potters with an inspiring learning environment, which constitutes a key legacy of Bernard Leach's times (Uys, 2018; Tyas, 2014: p.40).

As already mentioned, the junior potters' relative inexperience poses a challenge to the consistency of the range and efficiency of production. As discussed in Section 5.3.8, potters

6 Recent examples include Jim Malone in Sept 2017 and Adrian Brough in Nov 2017.

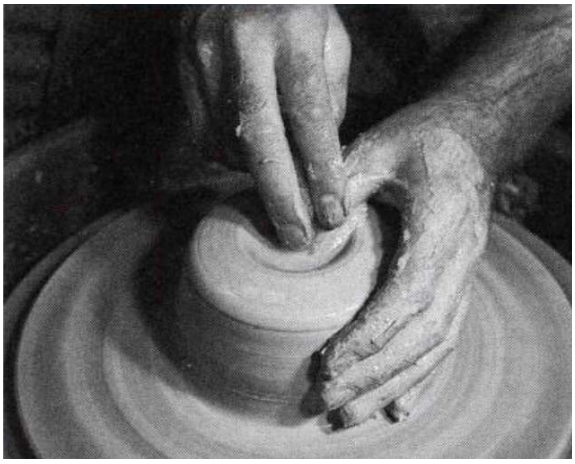

Figure 7.17 Illustration of technique of opening in Kat's former teacher Vince Pitelka's notes on throwing (2015).

Figure 7.18 Kat's method of opening to make the Leach mug (photo: 20 Apr 2016).

Figure 7.19 Callum's method of opening to make the Leach mug (photo: 20 Apr 2016).

Figure 7.20 Matt's method of opening to make the Leach mug (photo: 20 Apr 2016).

Figure 7.21 Roelof's method of opening to make the Leach mug (photo: 28 July 2016).

Figure 7.22 Laurence's method of opening to make the Leach mug (photo: 20 Apr 2016).

were typically assigned to the same operations for some time so they could acquire some proficiency before moving on to other tasks (Uys, 2018). In Roelof's view this ensured by the end of their terms all apprentices and volunteers had a varied experience at the pottery, learned a range of techniques while also keeping productivity at sustainable rates (LP87)[7].

After initial demonstrations, feedback on processes was given sparingly, but results were thoroughly checked and discussed. Working towards exact sizes and specifications helped sharpen techniques, enabled precise feedback on faults and invited suggestions for improvements.

Diversity in the team also exposed potters to various teaching styles, oscillating between more explanatory methods (e.g. Kat's) and real-time demonstrations accompanied by simpler explanations (e.g. Britta's). The influence of a teacher onto junior potters can be hard to identify exactly, even when potters can point to key figures in their careers. In some cases, video analysis demonstrated influences could be traced in the exact ways operations were carried out.

As a deputy lead potter and production thrower, Kat provided insights into techniques and ways in which they were communicated across the team. Many of her methods evolved from instructions she received from her college teacher Vince Pitelka. Her way of opening by pressing her left thumb with index and medium of the right hand (Figure 7.18) was directly derived from Pitelka's instructions (Figure 7.17), as she confirmed in conversation (LP25). She also suspected she had passed her method on to Callum. He developed his method from Kat's (LP25), but later revised his finger configuration (Figure 7.19). In April 2016 Matt had limited experience at the wheel and was following Kat's method more closely (Figure 7.20). Video analysis shows he was still using the same method in September 2017 [Appendix E.1].

Kat's daily involvement in training was more influential on junior potters, as confirmed in conversation (LP25). Other members of the team used different 'holds' (e.g. Laurence, Figure 7.22; Appendix B.2). Despite being left-handed, Roelof used the same method (Figure 7.21). During his demonstrations he described his actions in detail (e.g. LP71), but

7 Instead, Bernard Leach had written "Our method on this small scale is to share the work as much as possible. In theory it may not be so efficient as a greater division of labour but we find it more companionable and stimulating" (1978: p.220).

for the most part he taught by providing feedback on results. His influence on the potters' style of making arguably lay less on the teaching of techniques and more on the general procedures and philosophy of making followed in the workshop.

Learning to use specific tools and machinery can create habits which are required to produce the desired qualities in the ware. The use of the bamboo tool [described in Section 8.2.3.4] carries associations with the historical workshop but it is mostly required to produce a specific finish. Similarly, Callum, Matt and Laurence were encouraged to use the kick-wheels in the museum and described their importance in their training[8]. The different speed of the wheel-head, the posture and general movements at the wheel naturally illustrated the correct rhythm required to reproduce the soft qualities of the Leach range (LP16).

As typical of the shared spaces discussed in Section 2.2.1, the Leach potters learn from each other and proctoring is common. They conduct tasks in isolation but also learn to work cooperatively, assisting and assigning tasks to others. Roelof explained the importance of "learning by doing" and from each other:

> *"you're not a student coming here to learn. If you're not learning anything I don't know, you don't belong in here" (LP34).*

In line with the heritage of the site, the study shows training potters on the job is a key narrative at the Leach. Its effect is tangible in the qualities of the ware and observable in the processes employed to make it, in the use of tools, transmission of skills and habits among the potters.

7.4 Key narratives at Maze Hill

7.4.1 Apprenticeship

At Maze Hill, conversations about the methods employed for the mug and other tableware naturally revolved around Florian's training at the pottery. His position as Lisa's apprentice defined the management of the workshop and affected forms and surface qualities of the ware. As mentioned in Section 4.4.1, Lisa's commitment to teaching pottery is

8 The Leach kick-wheels were designed by Dicon Nance, Bernard and David Leach in 1920s (Cooper, 2003: p.162) and were used to produce the historical standard ware. Many potters continue to use them, including Simon Leach, Micki Schloessingk, Mike Dodd and Josie Walter.

at the core of her practice and charity work. Like the Leach, Maze Hill works as an educational institution as well as a working pottery. In 2016, teaching activities included Florian's apprenticeship, regular short-term volunteering places, and four evening classes a week given by Lisa, Darren and Florian (MH18). Unlike the scheme at the Leach, the apprenticeship at Maze Hill mostly consists of supervision from the master potter, a common arrangement among small professional studios.

When he joined the pottery, Florian learned the first tableware shapes (i.e. creamers, espresso cups and mugs) from Lisa's previous apprentice Elvira Brown (Ellie), during a six-week overlap period (MH04). He had no prior professional experience but had already developed his own style of throwing during his studies in Thomastown [described in Section 4.4.3.1]. Florian continued to use his tools and preferred set up at the wheel, which included a mirror and pointer. He found the mugs relatively easy to replicate[9] but more effort was required for the faceted creamers (MH04).

Like Roelof at the Leach, Lisa mostly teaches by providing detailed feedback on results. She explained:

> *"I'm not going to completely change someone's style of throwing. If they're already throwing a bit and they've learned a certain way, it's quite difficult to change that and everybody has their own way of doing that. If I think it's completely wrong then I'll say something" (MH06).*

The study shows Florian's methods differ from those used by Darren to perform the same operations [as noted in Appendix B.3]. Darren learned repeat throwing with Lisa and initially imitated her style but later adapted it into his personal, idiosyncratic method (MH07). Many techniques including coning, opening and pulling appear unrelated, as also confirmed by the potters (Figures on page 328).

As also observed at the Leach, potters with less experience are generally more technically malleable and would more easily adopt the methods observed, at least initially. Lisa explained:

> *"Anybody you teach you know they'd start off and they're complete beginners and you show them how to throw a pot, they'd start throwing the way that you showed them but then they will find another way cause it's comfortable for them" (MH06).*

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9 Making Maze Hill mugs in the style of Florian required fewer attempts than the other cases, testimony of the relative simplicity of the design [Section 4.4.5].

Lisa could not remember ever correcting an apprentice's technological style to match her own and she accepted inevitable differences among apprentices (ibid). Florian had limited experience in handling pots when he started at Maze Hill and had to make many batches of espresso and larger mugs for Lisa. He soon developed an accurate and consistent method which, although it differed from Lisa's, was effective in replicating shapes and qualities. For Lisa, "he ends up with the same thing in the end so it's fine, I'm not gonna say "don't do it that way"" (MH07).

After making thousands of pots of the same design, his method of handling was so ingrained that he used it for his own mug design. In addition to having a similar shape and qualities at raw stage (Figure 7.25 and Figure 7.26), video analysis shows the processes to make the two handles were very close, down to the points in which water was added to lubricate the clay. The main difference was that Florian spent more time cleaning and fettling his mugs than Maze Hill's, due to differences in glaze finishes (MH18). Throwing the cylinders also appeared very close, with Florian employing his well-defined personal technological style for both designs.

The influence of his apprenticeship at Maze Hill on his methods was hard to identify explicitly in conversations. When asked directly, Florian believed his way of throwing had changed but could not articulate in which way, other than having increased efficiency and speed. He could only recall learning from Lisa a method of making spouts for the jug using his index and medium fingers, instead of index and thumb (MH04).

Being apprenticed to a professional working potter guarantees exposure to all aspects of trade, including preparing for and participating at ceramic fairs and other events (Thom and Hammond, 2002). Besides producing the functional ware and teaching evening classes, Florian helped manage operations, dealt with calls and visitors, and generally ran the studio alongside Lisa. The apprenticeships are partly funded by the sales of pots made by the apprentices (Hammond, 2008: p.19), thus the scheme is an integral component of the pottery's business model.

Lisa recognises the importance of teaching classes for sustaining a studio potter's practice financially and invites her apprentices to teach in the evening at the pottery to gain experience (MH18). For Florian, by teaching: "you learn how to fix mistakes, and you do

learn how to describe what you're doing, which is a good skill to have anyway" (MH18). At the Leach, Kat also believed teaching helped develop awareness of movements and a vocabulary to describe them (LP34).

In common with the Leach case study, the design and qualities of Maze Hill tableware are compatible with the requirements of the apprenticeship. As discussed in Section 6.4.2.1, the mug cylinder is deceivingly simple. Potters can replicate the shape as they learn to recognise subtleties (MH03). The mugs require proficient handling skills, the beer cups are turned and difficult to get right (Goldmark Gallery, 2012b) and the creamers need proficient faceting (MH04). Lisa typically notices how much apprentices are looking at the pots and their elements and provides feedback and demonstrations on aspects which need correcting (MH06).

The apprenticeships at Maze Hill are integral to the organisational structure of the practice and affect the design and qualities of the pots [as seen in the discussion of the evolution of the mug in Section 6.6.3.3].

7.4.2 Controlled risk

As observed in Section 6.5.2.3, at Maze Hill variation is embraced as a philosophy and aesthetic pursuit. The soda firing process appeals for the rich range of partly serendipitous colours and surface qualities it produces. The highest quality of a few pieces comes at the cost of many 'seconds'. However, the atmospheric firings produce attractive surfaces, which are only considered seconds based on the strict requirements of ceramic exhibitions. In fact, a variety of channels (e.g. galleries, ceramic fairs and open studios) ensure the sales of the varied output made at Maze Hill. As Darren pointed out, direct sales of seconds at reduced prices during open studio events are comparable to selling the best pots to a gallery at wholesale price (Research Journal, 6 Dec 2016). This partly allows the pottery to operate at an increased level of risk and create a limited number of very high quality pieces, as Lisa explained:

> *"it is because those beautiful ones are stunning compared with everything being the same" (MH08).*

Maze Hill's approach to soda firing did not allow for much standardisation. At Ewenny, the height of the mug was designed to maximise the number of items that could be loaded

Figure 7.23 Maze Hill mugs, freshly handled (photo: 10 June 2016).

Figure 7.24 Florian's own design closely resembles his interpretation of Maze Hill's mugs (photo: 25 May 2017).

Figure 7.25 Florian opening with left thumb and right index (video still: 9 June 2016).

Figure 7.26 Darren opening with left index and right middle and ring fingers (video still: 13 Dec 2016).

Figure 7.27 Florian pulling with the flesh of his index (video still: 9 June 2016).

Figure 7.28 Darren pulling with the knuckle (video still: 13 Dec 2016).

in the kiln (EP21) and at the Leach it was considered in relation to storing on the shelves [Section 6.6.3.2]. At Maze Hill, such optimisation was hindered by the need to allow soda vapours and flames to circulate in the chamber. Careful considerations of sizes and heights were made to ensure the correct flow of flames and soda during firing, following the specific layout created with the pots available [as described in Section 8.2.8].

Soda firings are also hard on the kilns and issues can lead to further losses. Lisa explained "there are hazards associated with soda glazing that you don't have in other kilns". She mentioned other potters may keep the same shelves for twenty years, whereas she needs to change them every year (MH08). During fieldwork, shelves broke and collapsed onto pots and other pots fell in the kiln and blocked the flow of heat in the chamber, affecting the conditions of firing (Research Journal, 18 Feb 2016). Risk, losses and extensive cleaning of pots and kiln furniture are integral to the process.

As observed in Section 5.4.6, this relatively hazardous process was in fact controlled by Lisa's knowledge, built over many years of experience. During firing, standard methods such as cones and test rings were used to monitor progress. Digital pyrometers were constantly checked and changes in the colour of fire and pots were visible through spy holes. Information was discussed among the potters and annotated in the kiln book. Control is also established by employing standard procedures and observing some division of labour. Also, consistent and unfussy clay forms provide surface for textures and colours produced by the soda [Section 6.4.1.2].

The experience at the Oxford Anagama project [Section 4.5.2] suggested long-term wood firings inspire a similar fascination with the challenge of mastering processes to produce extraordinary effects. This idea of craftsmanship is perhaps best described by potter Nic Collins (like Lisa, also represented by the Goldmark Gallery), who is known for his highly hazardous wood-fired pieces. He explained that "a lot of disasters" are necessary to "get one or two gems". If he fired his pieces in a more reliable gas kiln, "they would just be more like production line rather than the kiln giving me a gift" (Goldmark Gallery, 2014a: 6:17 minutes). A similar approach underlies the generation of qualities at Maze Hill.

7.4.3 Studio pottery

The studio pottery movement in the 20th century was associated with "work produced

on a relatively small scale by a single person or small team" in which an "individual hand-made nature of the product and a consciously non-industrial stance" were important characteristics (Watson, 1994: p.12). Contemporary studio potters are typically designer-makers who work independently or with a small team of assistants. Arguably, all case studies share some characteristics attributed to studio practices, but Maze Hill more typically exemplifies a professional British studio pottery.

Operations are centred around the work of an individual potter (i.e. Lisa) assisted by her apprentice (i.e. Florian). Together they produce personal, time-consuming pots alongside larger batches of functional ware. These characteristics are shared with many studio potters identified in the practice review [Appendix A.1]. Prominent examples include Penny Simpson, Ruthanne Tudball, Akiko Hirai and Jack Doherty. Lisa's association with the Goldmark Gallery also links her with renowned studio potters such as Phil Rogers, Nic Collins, Clive Bowen and Jim Malone.

Lisa described her early training at Medway College of Art in the late 1970s as a 'studio pottery' course (Hammond, 2018). She calls herself a 'potter' rather than 'ceramic artist' or 'ceramist' (Hammond, 2008) and both Florian and she refer to the pottery as 'the studio'[10]. Activities such as teaching evening classes, offering masterclasses, participating in ceramic fairs, holding regular open studio events and exhibitions in galleries contribute to the image of Maze Hill as a professional British studio pottery operating within an established model. The urban settings of the soda kilns and Lisa's focus on charity work are more unusual, and have arguably contributed to her fame by making her voice heard in a competitive market.

Florian straightforwardly identifies himself as a studio potter (Gadsby, 2018). The study identifies evidence of a studio approach in the process employed for the Maze Hill mugs. Florian's set of personal tools and use of a specific metal rib (MH04) shows a preference for commercial supplies which is comparable with the use of tools observed at the Leach (e.g. Britta's small hardwood rib), but contrasts with the provision of bamboo tools by Roelof, and especially with the making and sharing of tools observed at Ewenny.

Florian learned to throw with a mirror and a throwing gauge in Ireland and continued

10 By comparison, the frequency of occurrences in the interview transcripts shows that at Ewenny the potters only use the term 'workshop'. Alun and Caitlin see 'studio pottery' as distinct from their approach (EP09). At the Leach both 'studio' and 'workshop' are used.

to use both at Maze Hill. He advocated the use of the mirror as it avoided the need to lean sideways to check the shape on the wheel (MH04). The solution contrasts with the straightforward methods of country and production potters, as potter and teacher Laurie Smith observed:

> *"I think that in the days of the country potteries like Wrecklesham [sic], throwing was entirely a matter of repetitive feel. The flower pots numbered 60s, 80s and 120s were the number thrown per hour. No time to look in the mirror!" (Smith, 2017).*

At Maze Hill, many operations are regulated by Lisa's instructions but Florian's more embodied techniques are visible in the ways he prepares clay, throws and handles [as discussed in Chapter 8]. His techniques of spiral 'wedging', centring, opening out and preparing stubs for handles can be associated with studio practices, and his accurate and careful approach contrasts with more straightforward methods of country and production potters.

The association with studio practices of the work of Florian at Maze Hill pottery, recorded in visual and written records from the fieldwork, is supported by numerous methods and techniques discussed in Section 8.2.

7.5 Conclusions

This chapter has discussed key narratives associated with the case studies. Hand-thrown tableware is valued for its aesthetics and usefulness, and narratives can enhance its appreciation by offering insights about makers, skills and, more generally, the contexts in which qualities are produced (Woolley and Niedderer, 2016: p.160). Physical qualities provide 'cultural texts that require decoding' (Adamson, 2010: p.137) and since the start of the studio pottery movement, potters have been advocating the need to describe their own work and communicate narratives (e.g. Leach, 1928: p.2). However, as observed in Section 2.1, marketing material typically only presents simple accounts of processes, qualities and narratives. The findings presented in this chapter have offered further insights into practices, based on material elicited in conversations with the potters and supported (or challenged) by the evidence from video analysis and reflection.

Table 7.3 shows a comparison of narratives discussed in literature on craft and those identified in this study (shown in italics in the table). The findings indicate a closer

Greenhalgh, 2002: p.4	Berger, 2009: p.6	Marchand, 2016: p.9
Classification	*Authenticity*	*Apprenticeship*
Economy	Context	*Attitude*
Amateurism	Exchange	Autonomy
Technology	*Style*	Bespoke
Morality	*Technology*	*(The) Body*
Ethnicity	Globalization	*Design and Making*
Place	Gender	Economic Precarity
Domesticity	Identity	*Expertise*
Museology	Transformation	*Focus*
Gender	Reality	*Functionality*
History	Religion	Identity
Modernity	*Shape*	*Innovation*
Quality	Representation	*Locality*
		Materials
		Problem Solving
		Social Politics
		Risk
		(The) Senses
		Skill
		Standards
		Tools
		Tradition

Table 7.3 Comparison of themes explored by key texts on craft from various disciplines. Themes relating to aspects of the potters' work discussed in this study are in italics.

relationship with anthropological studies of making (Marchand, 2016) than art historical (Greenhalgh, 2002) or material culture studies (Berger, 2009). Narratives such as 'traditional cultural heritage', 'personal stories', 'integrity', 'creativity' and 'craftsmanship' are commonly and generically associated with handmade pottery [Section 1.1.1]. The discussion in this chapter has revealed how these can be traced in the approaches to making potters describe and demonstrate on site, and the use of specific tools and techniques [Section 2.3, point D].

The study offers a sample of the variety of British hand-thrown tableware practices. Participants' methods and philosophies of making originated in markedly distinct contexts. The ethnographic treatment of all material has avoided the partisan stances taken by many authors on pottery [Section 2.3, point C].

The study does not share the assumption of many texts on studio pottery that potters are makers of their own designs [Section 2.3, point I]. Instead, it has explored the impact of division of labour and individuality in work carried out in workshops. Personal stories and creativity emerge at the Leach from the discussion of deviation from standard methods imposed by the master potter. At Ewenny, the practice has a more defined protocol and differences are for the most part simply linked to personal preference. At Maze Hill, personal narratives survive thanks to some division in responsibilities between master and apprentice.

Narratives enrich mechanical descriptions of methods [Section 2.3, point G] and anticipate the distinct cultural and material contexts which shape making processes [discussed in more detail in Chapter 8]. In the absence of advanced historical analysis of British pottery processes [Section 2.3, point E], the evidence of historical videos and literature currently available supports claims about tradition. Cultural heritage is not only reflected in Ewenny's identity as a small, local pottery (Jones, 2000) but is integral to the work of the Jenkins. Tradition is also manifest at the Leach in their continuous commitment to training aspiring potters and adhering to the principles and aesthetics of the Anglo-Oriental school of ceramics.

The models of craftsmanship followed in each practice (Section 7.4.2) relate to the workshops' distinct relationships with risk and consistency. As seen in Section 6.5.2.1, the

Ewenny range is highly consistent and any deviation is considered an imperfection. The proficiency of the potters and the stark similarity in their approaches is revealed in the video analysis of throwing and handling sessions. Craftsmanship in the range is identified with the quality and consistency of materials and execution. The potters have integrated quality control solutions and efficiency across all operations, and are less reliant on explicit instructions or tools.

At the Leach, external measures are required to ensure the quality of the output matches the standard of craftsmanship determined by Roelof. The potters check each other's work and develop an eye for qualities at intermediate stages which anticipate the desired results. This echoes dynamics also present in the historical workshop: for former Leach potter John Bedding, a pot was considered "acceptable" if it was "well-made and in the parameters of the form" (Tyas, 2014: p.137). Craftsmanship in the current Leach pottery relates to commercial consistency (i.e. low risk) and adherence to 'Leach' aesthetics, as interpreted by Roelof.

The craftsmanship of Maze Hill tableware "depends on the judgment, dexterity and care which the maker exercises as [s]he works", as Pye suggested (1995: p. 20). But the risks involved in atmospheric firings surpass that of making in which a "tool is held in the hand and no jig or any other determining system is there to guide it", which Pye believed to be "the extreme cases of the workmanship of risk" (1995: p.28). In her doctoral study on the Korean moon jar, Kim (2014) also noted the inadequacy of Pye's theory in representing the risks involved in throwing and firing, and in describing the work of ceramic artists who encourage risk in their practices (e.g. Edmund De Waal and Takeshi Yasuda).

The integrity of the three practices is manifested in the making of tableware. For Bernard Leach, a pot "will have a life" if:

> *"the vital force of the potter and that of his culture behind him flow through the processes of making" (1978: p.17).*

As Paul Loh suggests, the authenticity of craft practices lies in the formation of a repertoire which closely relates to its social and cultural meaning (Loh et al., 2016: p.201). The next chapter will further examine and demonstrate more closely the "complex coupling of tools, techniques and materials" (ibid) with the narratives associated with the case studies.

8 Salience

"To the potter or ceramic artist, what is it that likely represents the most important aspect of the work after developing the form? The usual answer is color and/or surface quality"

(Hopper, 2009: p.57).

"[...] there is a desire to be actively involved in the final, and in many ways the most important, stage of the pottery making process, the firing"

(Minogue and Sanderson, 2000: p.7).

8.1 Introduction

This chapter identifies the manufacturing and cultural salience of operations involved in making the case study mugs. As anticipated in Section 1.3.4, the manufacturing salience of a given making operation is defined in this study as its relative importance in generating tangible qualities in the ware, such as those described in Chapter 6. The analysis identifies operations which directly relate to craftsmanship in the execution of the pots and their sensorial appreciation, i.e. appearance and feel. Cultural salience is defined as the relative importance of an operation to generate narratives associated with the ware, such as those discussed in Chapter 7. Further narratives emerge from the close inspection of pottery processes discussed in this chapter.

For Lechtman, the identifications of key themes in the potters' work is a relatively straightforward task, when compared to the difficulty (in archaeological research) to confidently link those cultural patterns with observed technological behaviour (1977: p.274). However, ethnographic research of contemporary practices offers the opportunity of observing, recording and discussing those connections openly with the potters, who offer interpretations of their own work. Further insights are provided by the analysis of the operations recorded in videos, and reflection on the experiential knowledge acquired through making the pots by adopting similar technological styles to those examined.

Miller discusses the need for a method, in material culture studies, which can establish

	MANUFACTURING SALIENCE	CULTURAL SALIENCE
Low	The operation contributes to but does not directly produce design elements or tangible qualities in the final ware	The operation may be explained in cultural terms but does not directly produce important narratives associated with the ware
Medium	The operation produces or affects minor design elements or tangible qualities in the final ware	The operation is indicative of general narratives associated with the ware
High	The operation produces or affects major design elements or tangible qualities in the final ware	The operation is indicative of major narratives which characterise the work of potters (i.e. their personal methods) or the workshop in which they operate (i.e. workshop's approach)

Table 8.1 Definitions of 'low', 'medium' and 'high' salience followed in the study

when something 'matters' and proposes ethnography as a tool which guarantees a 'much deeper involvement in people's lives' and enables researchers to make claims (1998: p.12). Similarly in this study, the intimacy established with the three practices enables the identification of salient aspects of the potters' work. The point is not to assess abstract levels of 'salience' but, as Miller suggests, to discuss which operations 'matter' the most in terms of generating qualities or highlighting narratives.

The discussion follows the sequence of operations required to make hand-thrown mugs in the three case studies, from preparing the clay to firing and finishing the pots, and serves to discuss the making of hand-thrown tableware more broadly. Summary diagrams guide the discussion and provide a clear visual reference for the text. Their format does not intend to establish unequivocal connections, but provide easy reference for points made in the text.

Results should be considered conservative, as further research could identify salience not revealed in this study. A total of 58, 79 and 73 distinct operations were identified in the making sequences observed at Ewenny, Leach and Maze Hill potteries, respectively [Appendix D]. For ease of comparison, these were grouped into 49 equivalent macro-operations across the three cases, which are discussed in this chapter. Each was assessed based on the parameters described in Section 3.2.10, and evaluated as having 'low', 'medium' or 'high' salience, following the definitions shown in Table 8.1. This should not be interpreted as an exact scoring, but as a way to point out differences across the sequence and provide a reference for discussion.

Among all salient operations analysed, centring, ribbing and handling are singled out and discussed at some length to exemplify the contribution of the research to the field of contemporary pottery studies. The conclusions in Section 8.3 discuss how the study addresses gaps and biases identified with current literature [Section 2.3].

8.2 Salience of each phase

8.2.1 Overview

Operations of 'medium' and 'high' salience are indicated in the diagram in Figure 8.1 with a grey or red colour, respectively, for each workshop. An uneven distribution of salience is identified across the sequence of operations. As expected, forming and decorating the pots are closely associated with the creation of design elements and handmade qualities, i.e. they show a higher manufacturing salience. The preparation of clay materials and first actions at the wheel are not directly linked to tangible characteristics. This is also true of preparatory operations involved in handling, glazing and glaze firing. Bisque firing in electric kilns operates in a controlled manner, with comparatively little effect on the ware. Similar considerations can be made at Ewenny and the Leach about their reliable methods of glaze firing. This is not to say these operations have no consequences on the successful production of the tableware, as firing is a fundamental phase in any ceramic process, but once executed correctly their importance in generating specific qualities is lower when compared to other processes. At Maze Hill, instead, packing and firing the soda kiln is key to reproducing the qualities which are characteristic of the range.

By contrast, key narratives are associated to making operations across all phases. Notable differences are identified among case studies. Glaze firing is considered less salient at Ewenny than at the Leach and especially Maze Hill, where handling is not linked to important narratives.

Further considerations are brought by the distinction between narratives linked to more embodied techniques employed by individual potters (i.e. their personal methods) and the processes requested or directly encouraged by the master potters (i.e. the workshop's approach), as summarised in Figure 8.2. Overall, the analysis suggests individual cultural traits are less prominent at Ewenny than the Leach and especially Maze Hill. Notable differences are found among phases in the making, reflecting the diverse operational

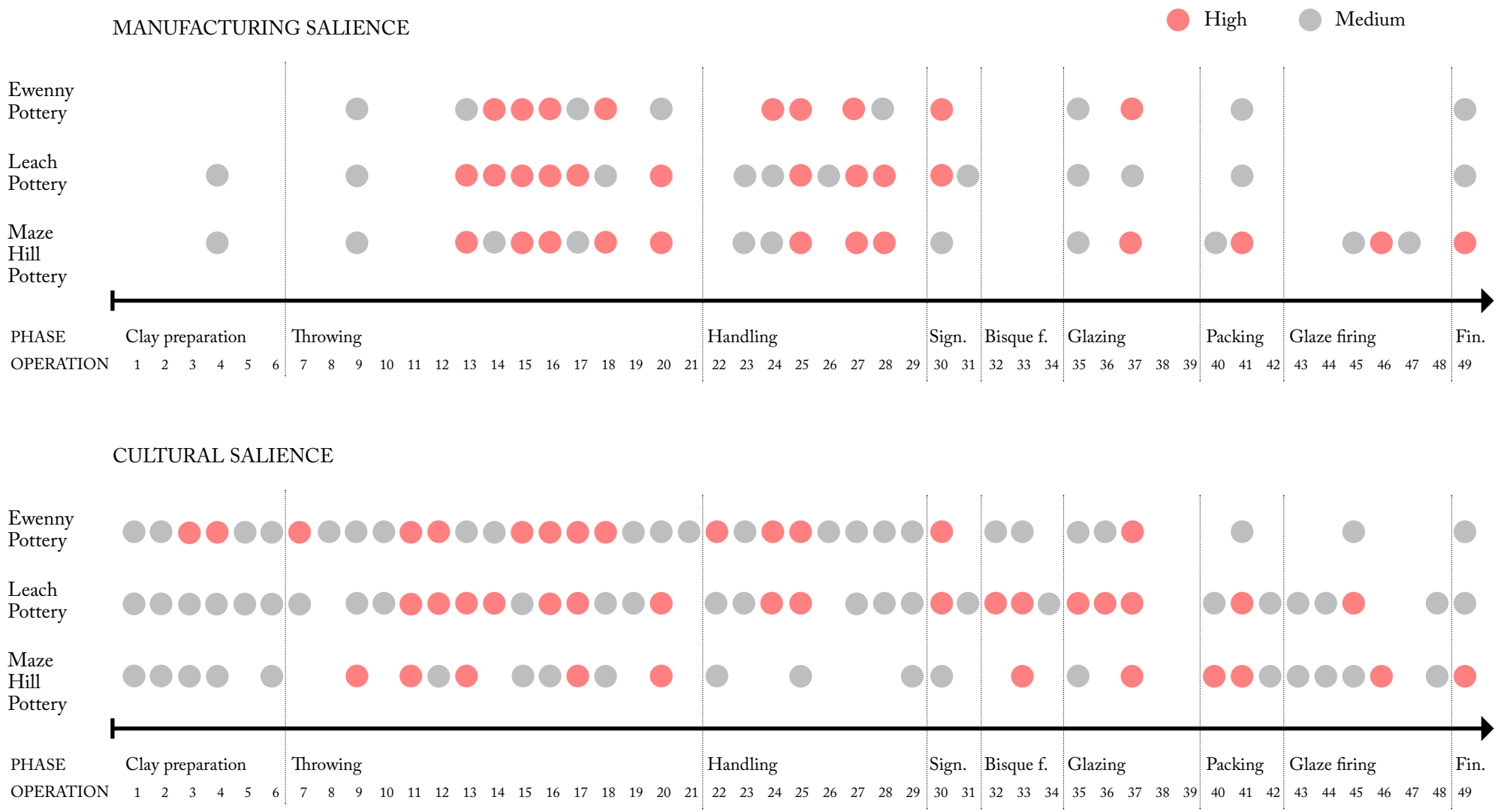

Figure 8.1 Summary of salient operations across all phases and case studies.

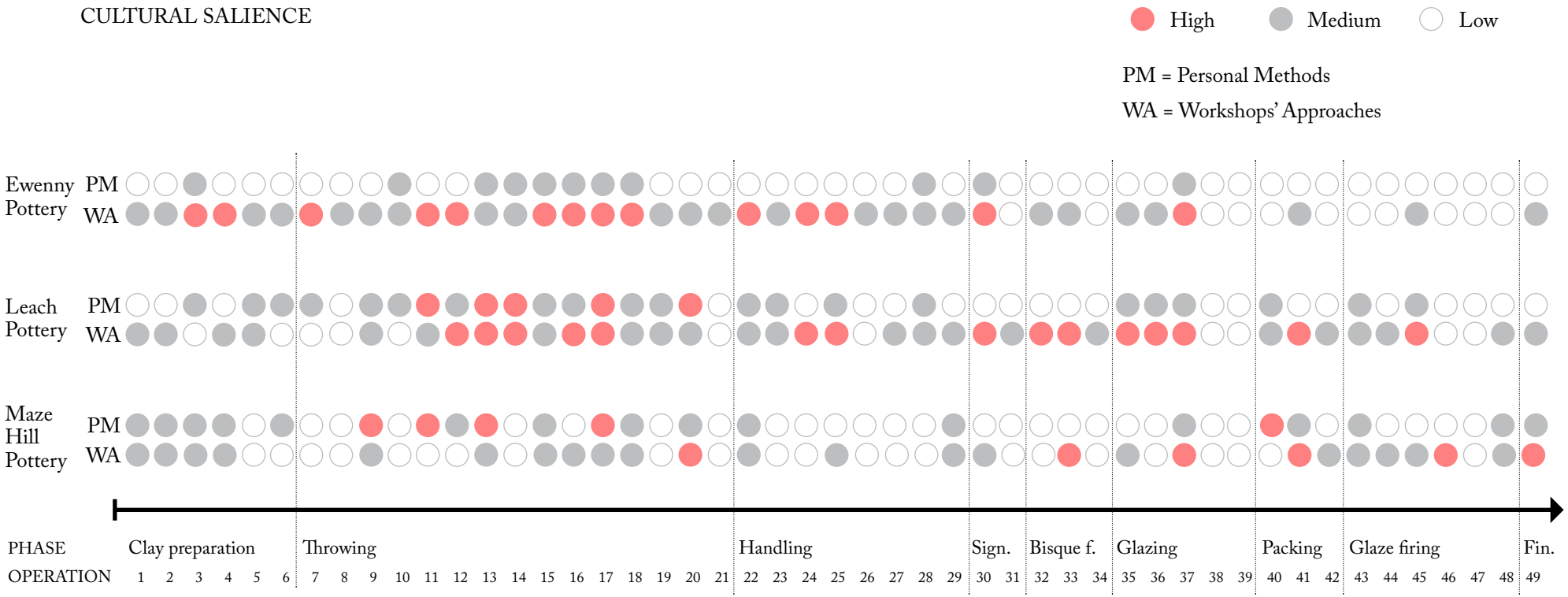

Figure 8.2 Summary of culturally salient operations across all phases and case studies, split by association with either the personal methods of individual potters or the approach to making encouraged in each workshop.

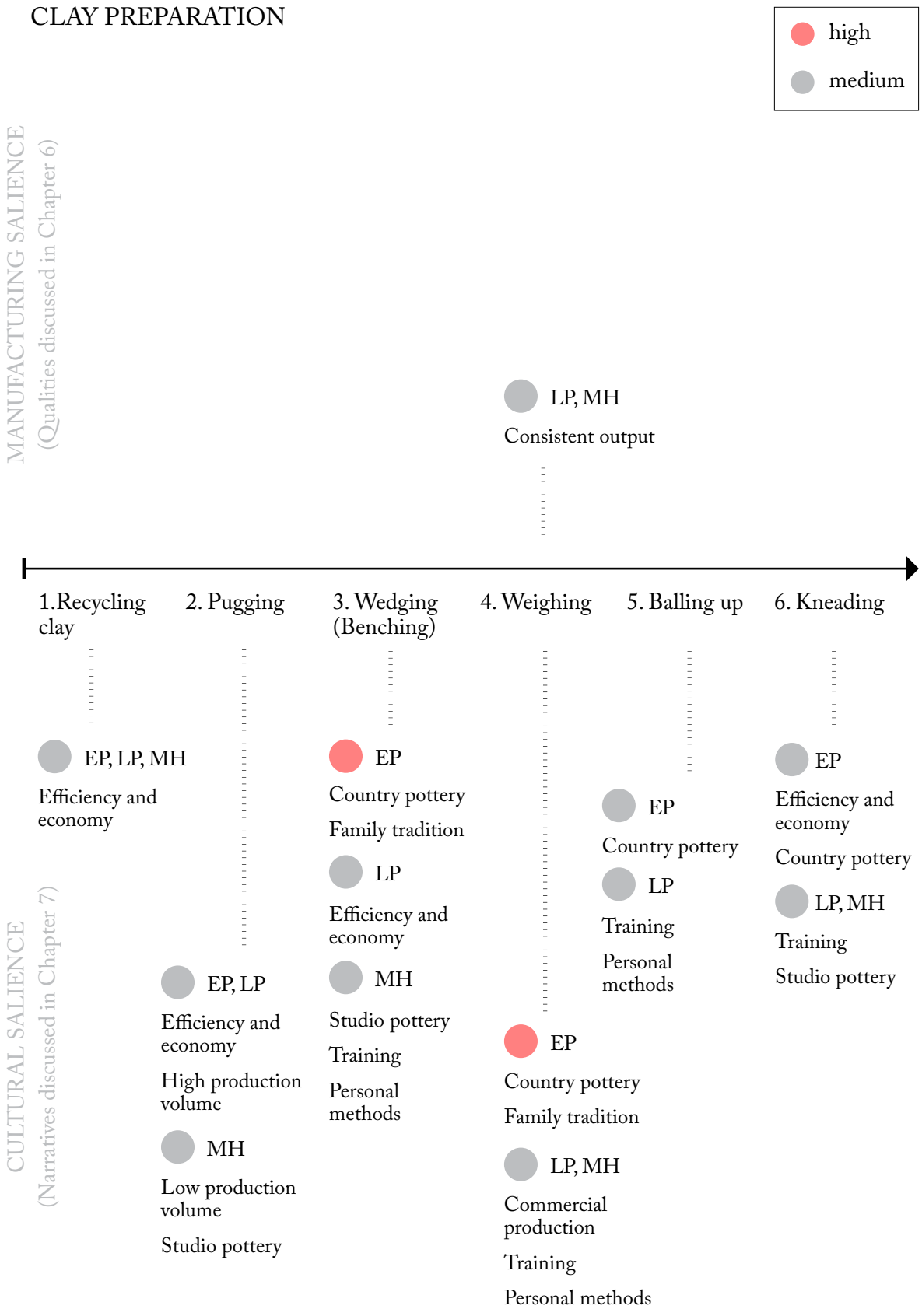

Figure 8.3 Summary of salient operations involved in clay preparation across the case studies.

dynamics followed in the workshops. At the Leach and Maze Hill, personal narratives are mostly associated with operations at the wheel, whereas glaze firings are more regulated by the workshops' instructions.

The findings of the study are discussed in more detail in the paragraphs below.

8.2.2 Clay preparation

The process of making hand-thrown tableware begins with the preparation of the clay materials for throwing on the wheel. In common with many contemporary British practices, the three workshops mostly follow standard approaches which include the purchase of clay from commercial suppliers, the use of a pugmill to mix the clay and remove air bubbles, and additional wedging and kneading of the clay, before or after preparing weighed balls for throwing (Figures on page 342).

The methods used to prepare clay materials across the case studies is weakly correlated with qualities in the ware (Figure 8.3). These operations are crucial to the production of tableware, but the exact methods followed in each workshop are hard to trace in the products. For example, Florian mixed the clay by hand and saw no difference in results from using the pugmill (MH04).

Weighing balls of clay on scales is standard practice in repeat throwing and contributes to consistency in the output. Though also performed at Ewenny, it is arguably more important at the Leach and Maze Hill where junior staff are in charge of production.

Despite its comparatively scarce effect on qualities, the preparation of clay is associated with many narratives across all cases. At Ewenny, the legacy of country pottery [Section 7.2.3] and family traditions [Section 7.2.1] can be seen from the moment the potters take the clay off the bags. The clay is prepared in a characteristically economical way which relies on their advanced knowledge of materials, confident movements and minimal use of water or tools. Traditional methods are also used to ball up and weigh the clay. As discussed about the technique of 'benching' [Section 7.2.1], observations and video comparisons show great similarities between Alun's and Caitlin's methods, indicating a close transmission of craft skills at early stages of training. The proportions of recycled clay are judged by touch, the clay is mixed in a pugmill, quickly torn from the coils without a wire and made into rough balls, with a straightforward method typical of country potters (McGarva, 2000: p.57).

Figure 8.4 Three generations of Jenkins tearing pugged clay at the bench to make balls for throwing. From left: Arthur Jenkins (video still: Ladybird Cine Group, 1960s), Alun (video still: 30 Sept 2016) and Caitlin (video still: 29 Sept 2016).

Figure 8.5 Matt (left) preparing clay for the pugmill, guided by Roelof (right), (photo: 15 Apr 2016).

Figure 8.6 Callum kneading balls of clay before a session at the wheel (video still: 25 July 2016).

Figure 8.7 Clay prepared by Florian using the spiral wedging method he taught himself (photo: 9 June 2016).

Figure 8.8 Small quantities of clay ready for mixing at Maze Hill (photo: 13 Dec 2016).

The current pugmill produces cylindrical coils rather than the large blocks made by the old machine, but these are manipulated in the same method, transmitted faithfully over generations (Figure 8.4). Long-standing methods are also associated with weighing clay [Section 7.2.1]. These operations do not highlight personal narratives but are indicative of the workshop's traditional approach.

At the Leach, new apprentices prepare clay for the team for about a year (Figure 8.5). The division of labour and long-term commitment to the task generates a routine which will be transmitted to the next potter in charge. Some potters also knead the clay before throwing, and generally continue to prepare the clay in ways which reflect personal preference and training history (Figure 8.6). Unlike the rest of the team, Britta wedges clay on the table and cuts coils into regular lumps with minimal use of scales. Others were shown the technique but did not adopt it (LP88). Differences also relate to centring, e.g. Kat does not spend much time balling up as she cones the clay on the wheel (LP73).

At Maze Hill, Florian is in charge of preparing clay and can adapt Lisa's instructions to his preference (Figure 8.7). As discussed in section 7.4.3 and mentioned above, Florian stopped using the pugmill in 2017 and wedged by hand[1]. The choice of avoiding the pugmill is indicative of the way the workshop operates as a small-scale studio pottery alongside Lisa's charitable and teaching activities (Figure 8.8). When still at school, Florian taught himself spiral wedging by watching video tutorials, which shows his dedication and methodical attitude (Research Journal, 25 May 2017).

Measurement systems can indicate habits, attitudes towards change and generational differences. At the Leach, the weight of all typologies is expressed in grams and their dimensions in centimetres. At Maze Hill, specifications vary across typologies and recipes, and both metric and imperial measurements are used (MH04). This reflects differences in education and training between Lisa and her apprentices, and her flexible, pragmatic approach.

At Ewenny, as observed in Section 7.2.1, the potters' use of imperial units, habits in

1 For Daniel Rhodes "it is in wedging that the potter senses his material, takes possession of it, and begins to develop rapport with it" (1978: p.4).

weighing the clay, old scales and tools and their reference to the 'pound and a bit' of clay used for the medium mug are indicative of their country pottery roots and continuation of family traditions.

8.2.3 Throwing

8.2.3.1 Overview

The throwing phase comprises all operations carried out at the potter's wheel, as the mug designs analysed do not require 'turning'. During throwing, the initial ball of clay is transformed by the combined action of the potter's hands and the centrifugal force exercised by the wheel. The ball is first centred on the wheel-head, then opened into a rough form and later refined into the desired cylinder (in the case of a mug) which is then cut and placed on ware boards to dry. All participants follow this general procedure, but important differences are observed among and within workshops.

Throwing is widely recognised as a salient phase and often used as a signifier for the entire process, as in the expressions 'thrown ware' or pottery 'thrown on the wheel'. As discussed in Section 2.1.5, many publications on pottery are dedicated to throwing pots on the wheel or include large sections about it. In addition to confirming the importance of the throwing phase, this study identifies the operations that are responsible for key qualities and narratives associated with the ranges analysed.

Although throwing generally only lasts 2-3 minutes per mug, up to 28 distinct operations were identified across the case studies. Many actions require locomotor skills learned over time. As in the case of clay preparation, the ways in which operations are carried out can be linked to embodied approaches to making which originated in the training history and professional experience of a potter. This indicates high cultural salience.

For ease of discussion, throwing operations across the case studies are grouped into the 15 operations shown in the diagrams, starting from Figure 8.9. The discussion of throwing includes a more in-depth analysis of centring and ribbing (in Sections 8.2.3.3 and 8.2.3.5 respectively) which addresses limitations identified in current literature in Chapter 2.

8.2.3.2 Initial operations at the wheel

The first operations at the wheel continue to prepare the clay for subsequent forming, and

as such they are not traceable in the final ware (Figure 8.9). However, as per the weighing of clay during clay preparation, the use of gauges is linked to consistency in output in all case studies.

Many narratives are associated with these operations. The ways potters set up their workspace, for example, are a strong indication of personal and cultural narratives. As described in Section 7.2.3, the use of a hump at Ewenny is emblematic of their continuity with previous country pottery methods. Traditions permeate many operations at Ewenny, especially during throwing: from using a twig as a gauge and throwing the ball of clay when the wheel is spinning to placing pots on newspaper as it was done in the old workshop (EP15).

At the Leach, the twig was also used by Roelof and Jordan, and is indicative of their straightforward methods. Overall, the initial throwing phase at the Leach is not very salient, and variations in methods used for fixing bats or throwing balls of clay onto the wheel-head are only linked to personal attitudes and preferences.

At Maze Hill, Florian's use of the mirror [Section 7.4.3] is linked to his early training. It characterises his accurate approach and a personal choice of tools typical of studio potters. Lisa's flexibility in procedures allows Florian to continue to throw in a way which he finds comfortable, and he is judged on the results rather than processes. This is confirmed by the differences from Darren's method [Section 7.4.1]. Florian's method of throwing remained largely uninfluenced by Lisa's and his techniques follow his own style of making, as confirmed by the similarities observed between the methods he employs to throw the Maze Hill mug and his own mug design. Although his design requires more attention and takes longer to make, the order of the operations and the techniques are consistent.

8.2.3.3 Centring

8.2.3.3.1 The effect of centring on manufacturing

Centring on the wheel is crucial to prepare the clay for subsequent phases. When done correctly, its direct effect on final qualities was negligible across cases (Figure 8.9). It should be noted that, in other practices, centring does affect qualities in the final ware and can be fundamental to a potter's style (Hooson and Quinn, 2012: p.88). E.g. some of the soft qualities and asymmetry of Shoji Hamada's pots are allegedly due to the avoidance of

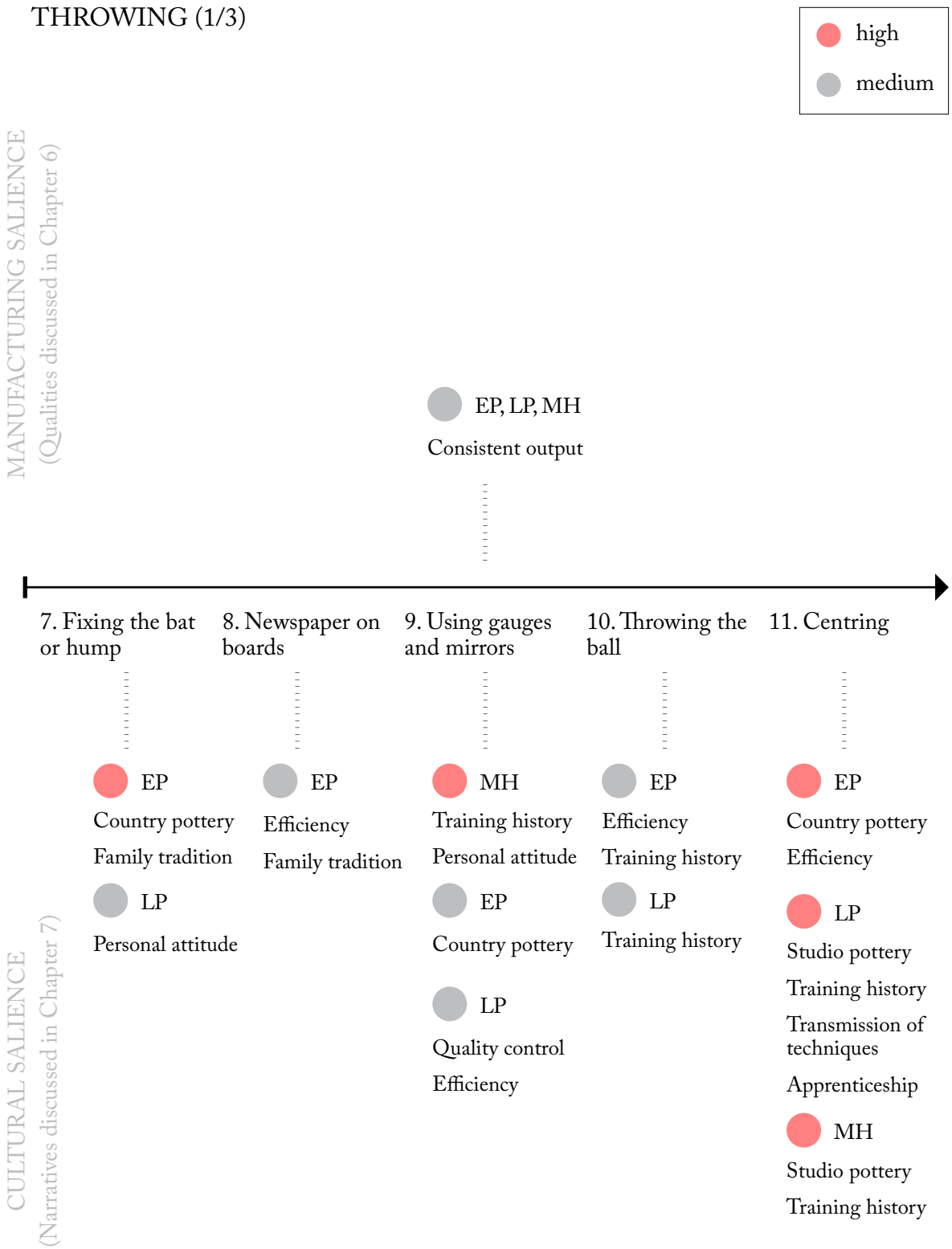

Figure 8.9 Summary of salient operations involved in the throwing phase across the case studies (diagram 1 of 3).

'perfect' centring, also facilitated by his use of the hand wheel[2].

8.2.3.3.2 Narratives associated with centring

The significance of the operation is better expressed in cultural terms. The analysis of the operational sequence shows the potters' actions when centring clay can be linked to distinct training approaches, philosophies of making and other narratives.

The way clay is centred at Ewenny correlates with the country pottery approach described by Alun and Caitlin as guiding their methods. The operation is conducted in a very economical way by simply pressing the ball of clay down with both hands (Figure 8.13) for about 10 seconds [Appendix D.1]. A dimple is made at the same time to retain the water necessary for opening the lump in the next action, an efficient solution not observed among other participants. Similar straightforward techniques are described in McGarva (2000: p.70). Videos of older generations of country potters show similar ways of centring by pressing clay (Figure 8.10 and Figure 8.11).

The video of Arthur Jenkins working in the old Ewenny workshop also briefly shows him centring medium-sized balls of clay by pressing down a shallow cone (Figure 8.12). Alun and Caitlin have eliminated the need to cone and simply press down even larger lumps (EP08; Figure 8.13). This seemingly simple method is the result of much practice and shows the dexterity and efficiency of the potters[3]. Only minor variation in finger configurations is observed between the two potters, due to different hand sizes and personal preference. Both learned to centre clay at Ewenny and did not alter their methods whilst or after attending their ceramic degree courses. As narrated in Section 5.2.2, Caitlin confirmed it is unlikely that a potter would change her method of centring over time (EP15), i.e. technical malleability is low [Appendix D.1].

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2 Lisa described incomplete centring as the best method to achieve a wavy rim, in the Japanese style, rather than distorting a perfectly centred cylinder at a later stage of throwing (MH06).

3 Attempts to reproduce the Ewenny mug in the same manner demonstrated it is difficult to envelop small balls of clays with large hands (e.g. Research Journal, 19 Oct 2016) but once achieved there is no need to cone. The potters found it hard to describe their methods other than in general terms. Video analysis had limited use in this case as the exact movements of the fingers were hidden behind the potters' closed hands (Figure 8.13), so practicing played a key role in the examination of the technique.

Figure 8.10 Two views of centring at Soil Hill Pottery, Bradford Halifax. From the film "Isaac Button Country Potter" (video still: Anderson and Fournier, 1965).

Figure 8.11 A Verwood potter centring clay from an original 1917 film of Crossroads Pottery, Verwood, Dorset (video still: Holman, 2011).

Figure 8.12 Arthur Jenkins centring balls of clay on the metal hump (video still: Ladybird Cine Group, n.d. (1960s)).

Figure 8.13 The video collage EP_v01 shows the similarity between Alun's and Caitlin's centring techniques (video still: 8 Apr 2016). They both simply press the clay in place and use a hump like the one used by Arthur Jenkins, shown in Figure 8.12.

At the Leach, investigating the potters' diverse methods of centring highlighted early training patterns, influences of senior staff, and changes developed from personal preference and experience. Jordan was very specific about the origin of his technique, which he explained as a combination of three main influences (LP33): Simon Leach's online video tutorials, David Moynihan (who taught him to cone to avoid wedging) and Tony Clennell (who showed him to cone with both hands). The video of his throwing session (LP19) shows actions correspond to his precise descriptions, recorded at different times [Appendix B.2].

Kat was also aware of her influences. As in the case of the operation of 'opening out' discussed in Section 7.3.3, she mentioned her former college teacher Vince Pitelka as a source. A video filmed during fieldwork (LP23, Figure 8.15) shows her making a high cone and pressing it down with her thumb, a few times. The similarities in finger configuration with the illustrations in Pitelka's published notes (2015) are remarkable (Figure 8.14). Apprentices Callum and Matt learned to cone the clay and press down with their left thumbs (Figure 8.16 and Figure 8.17), in a loose interpretation of Kat's method. This exemplifies the influence of senior potters on their apprentices' methods, at least at initial stages in their careers. Notably, by September 2017, Matt had reduced the amount of coning and simply pressed the clay down in a more straightforward manner [Appendix E.1].

Britta's method of coning symmetrically with both hands originated in her apprenticeship in Germany (LP39) but she adapted it by pressing down with her body onto the wheel. Laurence explained his coning originated in the need to 'wedge' the clay on the wheel to remove air bubbles in his previous workshop, where clay was recycled without using a pugmill (LP98). His technique is similar to Britta's as he uses both hands to press down, but he developed it to alleviate pressure off his left hand after an injury (LP31). Finally Roelof uses a mix of methods: a light coning with both hands, followed by flattening with the side of the right hand (LP89). All Leach potters employed a form of coning when centring clay and many identified centring with coning (LP73), as it is common in studio pottery practices.

At Maze Hill, Florian also centred by coning and by flattening the clay with the side of his

Figure 8.14 Illustration of technique of coning in Kat's former teacher Vince Pitelka's notes on throwing (2015).

Figure 8.15 Kat cones high and flattens with her left thumb, her hands tight together (video still: 20 Apr 2016).

Figure 8.16 Callum cones by holding with the right hand and pressing down with the left (video still: 20 Apr 2016).

Figure 8.17 Matt cones by holding with the right hand and pressing down with the left (video still: 20 Apr 2016).

Figure 8.18 Florian flattens the clay after coning (video still: 9 June 2016).

Figure 8.19 Darren centres with one hand, coning with his thumb (video still: 13 Dec 2016).

right hand (Figure 8.18). This is another common technique taught by studio potters and described in publications (e.g. Hopper, 2000). Florian's method differed from the one used by Darren to make the same mug design (Figure 8.19). Florian was aware of alternative ways of centring as he also taught amateur classes at Maze Hill but, like the Leach potters, he believed coning was "the way [centring] should be done" (MH04). Coning and flattening are a reflection of his characteristic methodical and precise attitude, even if extended coning was not strictly necessary as clay balls were kneaded before throwing.

Overall, the analysis shows that despite their scarce effect on manufacturing qualities, the various methods of centring clay can be correlated with the potters' training environments and philosophies of making in all three workshops. Anecdotal evidence suggests the association of economical ways of pressing down the clay with methods of country potters described in literature and recorded in historical videos. By contrast, coning techniques are associated with studio pottery methods described in technical handbooks. These differences correlate with the findings from other techniques and approaches identified among the case studies. The findings provide some cultural interpretation of centring techniques which contrasts with the more purely mechanical 'problem solving' explanations offered by the literature on throwing discussed in Section 2.1.5.11.1.

8.2.3.4 Continuing operations at the wheel

Centring is followed by a succession of very salient operations, which individually only last a few seconds but are significantly linked to qualities and narratives (Figure 8.20). Motor skills acquired over time are needed to perform these tasks proficiently. Techniques observed in fieldwork can retain associations with potters' training histories and reveal personal and cultural traits. The manufacturing salience of these operations means they also reflect instructions provided by the master potters. Overall this leads to high salience.

Similarly to centring, the techniques used for opening clay leave no trace on the ware but involve motor habits developed over time and can be indicative of key narratives. The operation is brief and appears simple to observers but requires dexterity to be performed confidently. The Ewenny potters simply open with both thumbs in a characteristically straightforward manner. At the Leach, the analysis of opening techniques presented in Section 7.3.3 highlighted connections with the potters' early training and specifically Kat's

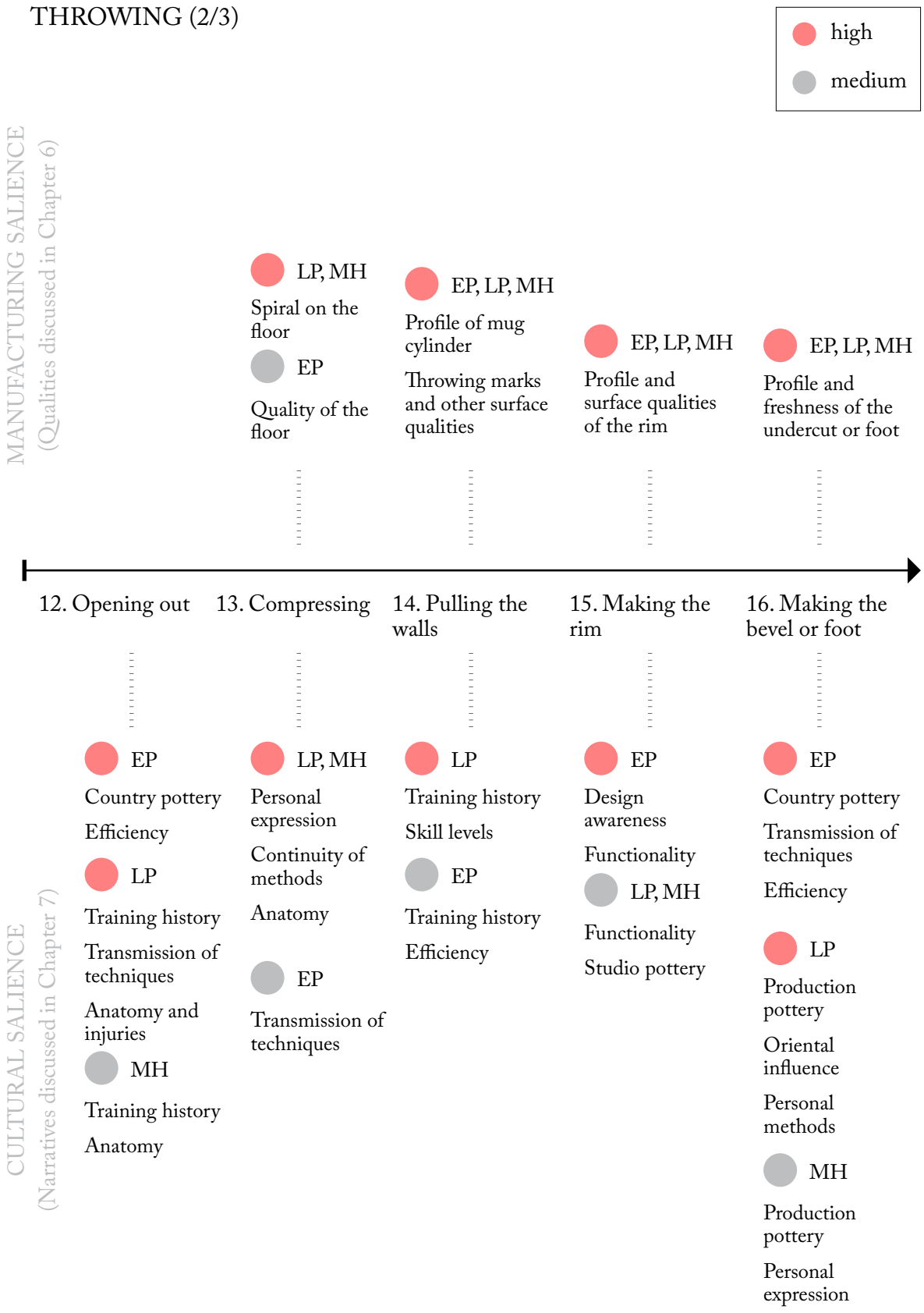

Figure 8.20 Summary of salient operations involved in the throwing phase across the case studies (diagram 2 of 3).

influence on the junior potters she supervised.

As noted in Chapter 6, compressing the floor directly affects qualities which remain visible in the final ware. At the Leach and Maze Hill this could include the creation of a spiral which manifested the potters' individual expression [described in Sections 6.3.2.2.6 and 6.4.2.2.6, respectively]. The spiral is a key signifier for the handmade which enhances the pooling of glaze inside the pots, and can also indicate its maker. This is appreciated by some at the Leach (e.g. Britta and Kat), as potters work collectively on a standard range of tableware. In both workshops, the spiral originated in previous ranges. This is particularly notable at the Leach, where the ware was completely redesigned but informally retained the spiral that was originally part of Doherty's range [as discussed in Section 7.3.1].

Pulling walls is arguably the single most important operation in the making of the three mugs. In only a few seconds, the hands shape the profile and define the thickness of the cylinders. Pulling also creates a basis for the mug's surface qualities, in preparation for ribbing, glazing and, in the case of Maze Hill, the atmospheric firing. The 'soft' quality of Leach ware [Section 6.3.1.2] is produced by the relatively slow speed of the wheel and fast lifting (i.e. pulling) of the plastic clay (LP89). Characteristic throwing marks naturally emerge, especially if the clay is raised with knuckles rather than finger tips, as observed while reproducing the mugs in the manner of the Leach potters using the kick-wheel in the museum.

The rim of the mugs is formed incrementally, after each pull, and then retouched and finalised after pulling is completed. Its manufacturing salience is evident in the importance placed on the qualities of rims across cases. The potters at the Leach and Maze Hill showed a standard approach in line with studio practice. Their awareness of the functionality required for a rim on a drinking vessel led to use a leather on the tip of the profile to smooth it. This is also indicative of the desire to ensure standards of quality across the teams, as experienced potters such as Roelof and Lisa can achieve the same smoothness by using only their fingers.

At Ewenny, the profile of the rim is shaped with finger tips and finalised with a sponge, after ribbing. The evolution of the rim design [discussed in Section 6.6.3.1] shows making the rim is associated with key narratives, such as tradition and adaptation [discussed in

Section 7.2].

The addition of a bevel or foot at the base of the cylinder is linked to formal qualities and key narratives, which differ among workshops. At Ewenny, the use of a rectangular metal rib to make the undercut and that of the little finger to make the groove are linked to the economical approach of country potters and Ewenny traditions. Video comparison shows the groove is added with the same finger at the same time in the sequence at the wheel. This is another indication of the close regime of apprenticeship received by Caitlin from her father, and the parallel refinement of their skills over the years.

At the Leach and Maze Hill, the addition of a bevel during the throwing phase cleans the edge of the base and avoids the need for further turning, in line with production pottery methods and the efficiency encouraged in the workshops. At Maze Hill this leaves some space for personal interpretation [as discussed in Section 6.6.3.3]. Florian's bevel is subtle and follows the curvature of the mug whereas, for example, Darren's and Yoji's were straight and clear-cut.

At the Leach, personal preference was observed in the use of tools [Section 7.3.1]. The bamboo tool was made in-house by Roelof based on a tool John Bedding used in Bernard Leach's old workshop (LP87). The tool was offered to all potters to cut the bevel and ideally rib the walls. Making the bevel was much discussed in the workshop and, technically, can be explained in simple terms: it creates a 'visual lift' for the pots (Hooson and Quinn, 2012: p.229), eases the application of glaze (ibid; Bloomfield, 2011: p.131) and guides the wire when cutting the form off the wheel (Atkin, 2009: p.91). For McErlain "The undercut at the base of the jug casts a shadow that helps to visually lift the form. It also provides a convenient point to which to clean back glaze at a later stage". Making the bevel is also linked to making tools and personal preferences. Each choice of tool can be linked to biographical and technical narratives, some of which have cultural resonance, e.g. the bamboo is linked to the old pottery through John Bedding. The salience of the operation is noteworthy when considering that it only lasts about 5 seconds. By practising the bevel, potters learn to reproduce subtle qualities through the skilful use of tools and receive feedback on the results (LP25). The brief operation reflects many aspects of the potters' work: a romantic association with the historical workshop, the elegance of Anglo-Oriental

designs, the efficiency of the process and the opportunity for junior potters to develop a subtle understanding of qualities.

8.2.3.5 Ribbing[4]

The review of literature [Section 2.1.5.11.2] showed the use of ribs in throwing is generally described in simple terms in handbooks and tutorials, and alternative methods are rarely discussed. This section explores the relationship among actions involved in ribbing pots, qualities produced on the ware and narratives associated with each technique. The salience of ribbing is examined in detail to reappraise its importance in making pottery, and illustrate the effectiveness of the research approach in producing original findings which address limitations found in literature.

8.2.3.5.1 Alternative ribbing techniques

Ribbing is one of many operations conducted in quick succession on the potter's wheel and for a mug it only takes a few seconds [Appendix D.1]. The application of rib tools depends on the typology of pots being made. Bowls and dishes are typically ribbed on the inside whilst mugs and tall pots are ribbed on the outside (McErlain 2002: p.89). For the case study mugs, ribbing takes place after a clay cylinder is thrown with only the fingers, and before the shape is cut and lifted off the wheel.

For the purposes of this discussion, three main ways of ribbing are described and referred to as types A, B and C. In the first method, the desired shape is achieved with the sole use of fingers, and the rib tool is only used to scrape the excess slurry off the walls (type A, Figure 8.21). This enables potters to pick up the mugs off the wheel without slippage. The rib is applied lightly and locally, with an upward or downward movement which does not alter the shape of the pot though it inevitably softens or removes some hand marks off the surface. Another method involves pushing a slightly concave wall profile with the fingers from the inside onto a rib on the outside, moving upwards (type B, Figure 8.22 and Figure 8.23). This widens and finalises the shape, removes most hand marks and gives a smoother finish to the pot, whilst preserving the height of the cylinder. Finally, the rib can replace the hand on the outside of the pot and pull the clay upwards, supported by the hand on

4 This section is partly based on a paper presented at the Making Futures conference in Plymouth on 14th September 2017.

Figure 8.21 Type A ribbing: Kat Wheeler ribbing with D-shaped wooden rib tool (photo: 20 Apr 2016).

Figure 8.22 Type B ribbing: Britta Wengeler-James using a small hard wood, from the bottom up (photo: 20 Apr 2016).

Figure 8.23 Type B ribbing: Florian Gadsby ribbing a Maze Hill mug with a metal rib, from the bottom up (video still 9 June 2016).

Figure 8.24 Type C ribbing: Isaac Button swelling out a vase with a square metal rib (photo: McGarva, 2000: p.70).

Figure 8.25 A still from the video collage showing Alun (left) and Caitlin Jenkins (right) performing a very light version of type B ribbing (video still: 24 Feb 2016).

the other side (type C, Figure 8.24). This method was not observed in the case studies. The action changes the profile of the pot and its height. It results in a smooth and 'tooled' surface, which shows barely any hand marks on the ribbed side.

8.2.3.5.2 The effect of ribbing

The characteristic marks on the walls of thrown pots are readily associated with the handmade process (e.g. in Bloomfield 2013: p.78) and distinguish hand-thrown pots from those manufactured industrially, or in other ways. Ribbing can affect the marks created by the action of pulling clay on the wheel. Rhodes suggests that:

> *"Any technique which removes the intimate contact of hand to pot will tend to deaden the flow of energy and feeling into the clay" (1978: p.42).*

Contrary to Rhodes, this study acknowledges the appreciation of alternative qualities in thrown products. For example, smooth surfaces are a key quality of Ewenny ware and an appropriate technique of ribbing is required to achieve the desired surface [as indicated in the diagram in Figure 6.57]. As ribbing has the potential to affect surface qualities, its execution should conform with the intentions of the master potters.

The difficulty in analysing ribbing is that the results of different approaches are mediated by subsequent operations such as sponging, glazing and firing. Also, variation can be produced by personal adaptations of the same techniques, responding to the clay body and the qualities of the freshly pulled walls.

At Ewenny, some ribbing is required on the outer walls to create a smooth surface, with throwing marks confined to the 'unribbed' interior. The analysis shows Caitlin clearly assimilated her father's style of ribbing but preferred to throw more with her fingers and use the rib less. The video shows the potters cleaned the surface from slurry with an upward movement. The left hand pressed the clay against the rib, held in position with the right hand, and very slightly altered the shape (a light version of type B ribbing). The analysis of videos shows the ribbing techniques between the two potters differ in timing but are in fact very close (Figure 8.25) and produce identical surface finishes. At Ewenny, the manufacturing salience of ribbing is assessed as 'medium', as the operation contributes to qualities in the ware but the exact methods observed in the process cannot be clearly identified in the final products.

At the Leach Pottery, ribbing surfaces allows the potters to lift pots off the wheel with dry hands. This should be done lightly to retain the noticeable undulation which characterises the style of the range. When making Leach mugs in the manner of the potters, the difficulty in achieving a thin wall at the base of the cylinder (Research Journal, 3 June 2016) inspired questions for Kat about her style of ribbing. She explained:

> *"I try to already have the shape. So, I get the shape with my fingers because I think you don't want to overwork it with the rib otherwise it cuts, it looks a bit dead, it's like you killed the life. You know, there's like a certain kind of breath that you get from throwing the spirals and everything, and you don't want to take all of that out. So, I get the shape right with my fingertips and then just cut it once over just to kind of clean the surface" (LP78).*

By ribbing lightly and from the top down Kat ensured she did not shape the walls, only removed excess slurry on the surface (type A ribbing). Her description was in line with what Roelof described as the 'softness' of the Leach style of pottery, a quality produced by the throwing marks left on the walls (LP89), [Section 6.3.1.2]. He achieved it by throwing with the wheel spinning slowing and using a bamboo rib with a blunt edge to rib the sides, a method he encouraged others to adopt.

Notably, Britta ribbed more markedly and from the bottom up (type B), a way Kat found 'very strange' (LP78) and which resulted in a more tooled and sharp surface. Britta had learned to throw accurately and to exact specifications, with the use of ribs, during her formal apprenticeship in Germany[5]. This was explained by Britta in interviews (LP88) and other potters also mentioned her accurate, more tooled style of making. As a professional production potter and teacher in the workshop, Britta was aware of the effect of different ribbing methods and made a conscious effort to match the qualities desired for the ware by the lead potter[6].

Other potters followed a version of the two ribbing techniques, mostly moving from the bottom up [Appendix B.2]. Laurence and Jordan had a light touch and used the bamboo tool as a rib (type A), whereas Matt and Callum used sharp plastic ribs and a method closer

5 Britta's personal work showed a preference for clean surfaces, with decoration concentrated on bands of rouletted motifs rather than an abundance of soft throwing marks.

6 Britta's method of turning pots can be discussed in similar ways as the operation also influences surface qualities. She tended to turn pots to a smooth surface and admitted she found it hard to replicate Roelof's loose style, which she described as "leaving a bit of juiciness on the pot" (LP88).

to Britta's (type B). Video analysis shows that soon after the first round of fieldwork in April 2016, Matt changed method and in August he was also ribbing the mugs with the bamboo tool, lightly and from the top (type A).

Overall, despite great differences in tools and techniques, all potters made sure throwing marks were not removed and achieved similar qualities. Differences visible at bisque stage would likely soften under the glaze. However, the lower third of the dolomite mug was left unglazed, and the ribbed surface was directly exposed. This, combined with the importance of soft hand marks, indicates the manufacturing salience of ribbing at the Leach is higher than in other cases (Figure 8.26).

At Maze Hill, the videos of processes show Florian pushed clay onto the rib, refining the shape and creating a smooth wall (type B, Figure 8.23), as he confirmed in interviews (MH02). His method was similar to the one used by Britta at the Leach.

Florian writes extensively about his practice on the social media platform Instagram. His accurate description of the ribbing technique he uses for his own mug design matches the notes recorded on the process matrix for the Maze Hill mug:

> *"I then use a metal rib to compress the outside surface of the pot, I don't push the tool into the clay, instead I hold the tool on the surface and push the clay outward into it, running my fingers up and pushing the clay along the sharp edge. This not only strengthens the pot, but removes all the slip, which impedes the rate [it] dries and makes it difficult to pick off if not taken away" (Gadsby, 2016e).*

Video analysis shows Florian's style of ribbing is integral to his throwing method and resilient across typologies and designs.

Lisa's former apprentice Darren Ellis ribbed lightly, from the top (type A), a method he had developed by closely imitating Lisa's actions on the wheel (MH07). However, his version of the mug was also smooth. Differences observed across mugs made by apprentices over the years could not be clearly linked to ribbing techniques. Overall, the manufacturing salience of ribbing is assessed as 'medium'.

8.2.3.5.3 Narratives associated with ribbing

The significance of the operation lies in its association with narratives. Ribbing is a highly salient operation in the making of hand-thrown tableware as it enables interpretation of the potters' work, including aspects which would otherwise be hard to identify. Ribbing

Figure 8.26 Summary of salient operations involved in the throwing phase across the case studies (diagram 3 of 3).

techniques are learned over time and embodied in motor skills, and can point to resilient aspects of cultural identity of the potters. Alternative methods of ribbing pots are often dictated by habits formed in early training, and biographical narratives can be linked to potters' technological styles.

At Ewenny, the potters' direct, economical approach was apparent in their tools and techniques. As observed in Section 7.2.1 and unlike all other potters interviewed in the study, Caitlin, Alun and Jayne share all tools (EP15). The rib shown in Figure 8.25 was the same one in both images. A rectangular rib is cut by the potters from a sheet of metal in a similar shape and size to those previously used at Ewenny. Similar tools are discussed in literature on country pottery (McGarva 2000: p.70), [Section 7.2.3].

At the Leach, Roelof's use of the bamboo tool as a rib exemplifies his vision for the workshop. As observed for the cutting of the bevel in Section 8.2.3.4, the bamboo tool aims to standardise methods and sensibilities across the diverse team. Roelof encouraged the potters to use it to cut the bevel and rib the walls, but many found the bamboo too narrow for ribbing. The light, loose ribbing encouraged in the workshop was a balance between the desire to preserve the traces of the potters' hands on the clay, production pottery techniques of lifting off the wheel to speed up the process, and personal takes on the use of tools. Also, differences in ribbing within the team highlighted the role of design and operational management in ensuring consistent qualities in the finished ware, e.g. through the standardised application of thick glazes that can hide differences in surface qualities which are still apparent at bisque stage (LP89).

The findings on ribbing at Maze Hill echoed those at the Leach. As discussed in Section 7.4.1, Lisa's mug design allows for some flexibility in the exact ways the pots are formed. Florian was left to practice his skills and follow his own style of making as long as final qualities were achieved. His technique of ribbing reflected his studio pottery training, accurate attitude and preference for personal tools.

In contrast with the simplistic descriptions of ribbing identified in pottery literature [Section 2.1.5.11.2], the findings demonstrate the salience of the operation across cases: a moderate role in the production of qualities and a strong association with personal narratives and approaches encouraged in the workshops.

8.2.3.6 Final operations at the wheel

Approaching the end of a throwing session at the wheel, even simpler operations such as sponging and cutting can leave traces on the final ware (Figure 8.26).

As described in Section 6.6.2.1, Ewenny mugs are thoroughly sponged on the inside and outside to even the surfaces and prevent issues with the application of the glaze (EP07). Videos of processes show the operation is executed in practically identical ways by Alun and Cailin. Sponging is linked to the improvements Alun brought to surface qualities and rim, creating a lip which flares outwards more prominently than in earlier Ewenny ware [Sections 6.6.3.1 and 7.2.2]. The sponging technique illustrates Alun's innovation and adherence to ever higher standards of quality in his tableware.

At the Leach, Kat's technological style was shaped by her experience in working with porcelain. Video analysis shows her throwing methods are resilient between the two mug designs and clay bodies. She throws with very little water (i.e. only 3 times and never after the first pull) and does not sponge the inside of the mugs, even when throwing with stoneware clay[7].

At Ewenny, even the simple gesture of cleaning one's hands before lifting the pots off the wheel is shaped by well-defined habits. Alun and Caitlin follow different patterns but have both developed a fixed way of removing slurry off their hands, which is performed identically each time. Arthur Jenkins seems to have followed a simpler method, recorded in the historical video discussed in Section 7.2.1 (Ladybird Cine Group, n.d. (1960s)).

The actions involved in cutting and lifting the pots off the wheel also carry some significance. The base of Ewenny mugs offers a clean background for their incised signature. The combination originated in older methods at Ewenny and other country potteries, exemplified by the similarities with the Barnstaple mug described in Section 7.2.3.

The method of cutting the bases with a wire is a standard practice in production pottery, but the patterns are integral to the Leach and Maze Hill designs [as discussed in Sections

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7 The video comparison of Kat's methods of throwing shows great similarities between stoneware and porcelain, with almost the same operations performed in the same order. However it took her a bit longer to make the porcelain cylinder (about 2.5 instead of 2 minutes).

The analytical table in Appendix E.1 exemplifies the video analysis conducted for the study.

6.3.2.2.7 and 6.4.2.2.7 respectively]. They also show the handmade process used to make the mug. At the Leach, variations in the patterns produced by the potters [Section 7.3.1] becomes a sign of personal expression and identity of the maker, in a standard range of products made collectively by a team.

8.2.4 Handling

8.2.4.1 Overview

Handling emerges as a key phase in the making of mugs. Pulling a handle off a pot compares with throwing in terms of complexity, number of distinct operations and salience (Figure 8.27 and Figure 8.28). This contrasts with the secondary importance given to handling in much pottery literature [Section 2.1.5.11.3]. The use of process matrices in the first round of interviews and analysis highlighted the complexity and variety of the operations involved in shaping and attaching handles, and this inspired a more dedicated focus on handling in the study.

In this thesis the term 'handling' is equivalent to 'pulling handles', as all case study workshops produce handles by pulling clay stubs directly off the cylinders. Pulled handles are common in British hand-thrown tableware. Many studio potters use the technique, originally employed in country and production potteries (McGarva, 2000: p.74; McErlain, 2002: p.132).

Creating handles by pulling requires very little equipment. The dynamic shaping of clay resonates with other ceramic processes and particularly throwing. Rhodes observes that a pulled handle:

> *"is a form made not only by hand but in the hand, and the actual gesture used in producing the form is almost identical to the gesture involved in its use" (1978: p.95).*

The entire phase consists in shaping clay directly with the hands, simply lubricated by water. Long coils are pulled out of balls of clay, cut into stubs, attached onto the cylinder, pulled into the desired section and profile, and fixed at the bottom [Appendix D].

All participants follow these general steps but, as per throwing, the different ways in which they conduct them have repercussions on both qualities and narratives. Proficiency in execution results in the dynamic forms and confident joints discussed in Chapter 6. In general terms, the need for finalising shapes and fettling surfaces should be minimised to

Figure 8.27 Summary of salient operations involved in the handling phase across the case studies (diagram 1 of 2).

Figure 8.28 Summary of salient operations involved in the handling and signing phases across the case studies (diagram 2 of 2)

Figure 8.29 Alun pulling long coils of clay to make stubs for handles (photo: 4 Mar 2016).

Figure 8.30 Caitlin attaching handles without scoring or adding slip (photo: 29 Sept 2016).

Figure 8.31 Britta pulling long coils of clay to make stubs for handles (photo: 23 July 2016).

Figure 8.32 Matt pulling short coils of clay to make stubs for handles (photo: 18 July 2016).

Figure 8.33 Florian handling the Maze Hill mug (photo: 10 June 2016).

Figure 8.34 Florian handling his mug design (photo: 26 May 2017).

retain freshness.

8.2.4.2 Manufacturing qualities

Creating the initial stubs is a necessary step which enables subsequent actions, but specific techniques are not traceable in the ware. At the Leach and Maze Hill, the potters also refined the edge of the base to remove any residual 'skirt' of clay. This step was skipped at Ewenny, as Jayne cleaned the base after leather-hard stage when signing the pots (EP12).

As discussed in Section 6.6.3.1, over the years Alun developed a thicker handle and a stronger top joint, which avoids the visual weakness of earlier examples.

The Leach bisque ware could reveal corrections and uncertainties, which would be later covered by the glaze. Roelof was very specific about the design of the handle and potters developed their skills by trying to achieve the 'soft seven' profile and desired manufacturing qualities described in Section 6.3.2.2.3.

Across cases, the operations involved in attaching the stubs and shaping the profile and section of the handle are the most salient in terms of generating the desired qualities for the ware. At the Leach and Maze Hill, and less so at Ewenny, finalising surfaces, joints and profiles are key to ensuring standards.

8.2.4.3 Narratives associated with handling

Handling operations across the case studies are associated with narratives also identified in other phases of production, as summarised in Figure 8.27 and Figure 8.28.

At Ewenny, the methods employed to handle mugs continue to support the association of the potters with their family traditions, economy of processes and country pottery techniques. Comparatively fewer steps were required by Alun and Caitlin to handle mugs and very little water was used. Operations such as preparing the cylinder, cleaning edges and finalising the shape were either very brief or not necessary. The potters proceeded in an unrushed flow of actions, taking half the time Kat or Florian required to perform the same tasks. Only 10 operations were identified at Ewenny, compared to 19 at the Leach and 15 at Maze Hill. Caitlin could make and cut each stub in less than 20 seconds, and attach a handle in just above one minute. The stubs were attached without scoring or adding slip, clay was simply pressed onto clay at the right consistency. By comparison, handling took

about 6 and 4 minutes in total at the Leach and Maze Hill, respectively. Great similarity was observed in techniques and order of tasks at Ewenny, indicative of the potters' close training and work environment. As mentioned above and in Section 6.6.3.1, Alun revised the technique after coming back from college and gradually changed the shape and qualities of the mug's handle, especially at the top joint, integrating design awareness with family traditions.

At the Leach, similarly for what observed about throwing operations, handling was shaped by personal narratives and workshop's instructions. Roelof's design for the handle dictated how potters should approach the tasks. Learning to handle the pots is a fundamental component of the apprenticeship, during which the potters receive much feedback on the many hundreds of pots they are asked to handle over the three year period. As mentioned in Section 6.2.2.2, in recent years Doherty's design was abandoned and methods shifted from pulling, extruding and back to the current pulling. The changes illustrate the workshop's need to maintain the efficiency of commercial production while training potters on basic skills and ensuring desired standards of quality.

Britta's method of preparing stubs from very long coils (Figure 8.31) has a technical advantage and is evidence of her training in production pottery. Laurence adapted Britta's technique of pulling long coils to make the stubs (LP92). Matt also followed a similar method but he started off with a smaller lump of clay (Figure 8.32), and expected to use larger amounts as his skills progressed (LP93). Among other Leach potters, precise methods to carry out handling operations (including scoring the cylinder or cleaning around the joints) could be linked to training histories.

Florian's apprenticeship at Maze Hill followed a similar pattern, with the need to produce thousands of handles and receiving feedback on results (Figure 8.33). This enabled him to develop a personal style of handling which reflected his precise attitude and systematic approach, perfectly captured in the styling of his social media posts. As discussed in Section 7.4.1, his technological style of handling was resilient across designs and clay bodies (Figure 8.34), including in the order of actions and timing of the use of water.

Across cases, the complexity of the handling operations and the need to practice skills over long periods likely explain their association with personal narratives. At the same time, the

need to match designs and qualities set out by the master potters is reflected on narratives about the approach to making encouraged in the workshops. Overall, this results in the high cultural salience of the handling phase.

8.2.5 Signing

The addition of stamps and signatures is evidently a manufacturing salient phase as it is directly responsible for tangible features in the final ware (Figure 8.28).

At Ewenny, the cursive signature in Jayne's elegant handwriting (Figure 8.35) is another reminder of the continuity with the old workshop, the handmade process and its locality. Tradition is also reflected in the method used to incise the letters, with a large nail of same type and size as the one kept in Arthur Jenkins's old toolbox (Figure 8.36).

At the Leach, after the handles are attached the pots are stamped (Figure 8.37) with the pattern originally designed by Bernard Leach (Figure 8.38). Like the Ewenny signature, the Leach stamp is a key signifier of the continuity of the workshop with its past tradition. Potters also use it to attest personal work made at the pottery, typically alongside their own marks (Figure 8.39). Arguably, the prestige of the well-known pottery mark contributes to the authenticity of the current range, and makes the contemporary workshop more integral with the museum and historical displays. This demands high standards from the potters but also partly validates their work.

At Maze Hill, stamping follows a standard studio pottery approach. As described in Section 6.3.2.2.8, the pottery stamp is applied in clear view of the user, next to the handle, and is highlighted by the lack of slip on the roundel which is reminiscent of fingermarks on Oriental ceramics. Unlike the Leach potters, Florian does not use the Maze Hill stamp on his own work, which has a different aesthetic style [described in Section 2.2.6]. This highlights his position at Maze Hill as an individual studio potter.

8.2.6 Bisque firing

Firing pots a first time in an electric kiln before glazing is a common practice in contemporary workshops. The operations generally lead to higher consistency and fewer losses, and the firing temperature determines the porosity of the ware before glazing, which has an effect on the amount of glaze adhering to the pots. Ewenny and Leach potters

Figure 8.35 Jayne inscribing the base of Ewenny pots with the characteristic cursive signature (photo: 24 Feb 2016).

Figure 8.36 The nail used to sign the pots at Ewenny (left) and an example from the old toolbox (right), (photo: 29 Sept 2016).

Figure 8.37 The Leach stamp is prominent on the small porcelain pourers (photo: 27 July 2016).

Figure 8.38 Kat checking the pottery's stamp when preparing a new batch of stamps for the team (photo: 19 Apr 2016).

Figure 8.39 The Leach stamp next to Matt's personal mark on the back of a plate of his own design (photo: 12 Sept 2017).

Figure 8.40 The area around the Maize Hill stamp is not slipped (photo: 18 Feb 2016).

follow these standard procedures which, if executed correctly, produce no discernible effects on the ware (Figure 8.41). As anticipated in Figure 8.2, the ways the pots are packed, fired and unpacked from the kiln are not linked to personal narratives, and relate more to the master potters' instructions.

At Ewenny, one kiln is generally in operation at any time as the size of kilns is limited by the electric power supplied to the workshop. Two glaze loads are approximately required for each bisque firing (Figure 8.42), and this sets the rhythm of production in the pottery[8]. When sales are lower in winter, pots continue to be bisqued at a similar rate and are kept in storage in wooden boxes around the workshop, ready to fulfil an order or replenish the shop. The electric firings continue a method introduced by Alun's father to ensure consistency in output, and reduce costs and losses, especially when compared to the previous coal firings[9] (EP16).

At the Leach, differences in packing and unpacking the ware do not leave visible traces, if issues are avoided. As discussed in Section 7.3.2, these operations play a role in quality control procedures, are often carried out by Roelof and are part of the training of apprentices. The top of the kiln is also used to dry plaster bats used for recycling clay and the ash cakes prepared for glazes. The heat in the kiln room creates a good environment for drying pots fast, and contributes to heating the main workshop room in winter. Overall, operations around the electric kiln are indicative of production pottery methods, training of apprentices, commercial consistency and economy of processes.

Maze Hill ware is not bisque fired, except sometimes in winter to avoid issues linked to humidity and ensure the correct storage of excess pots over time (Figure 8.44), but the pots show no difference from the ones that are raw fired (MH18). Firing raw pots shows Lisa's

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8 The role of the bisque firings combined with the rhythm and volume of production result in differences in the pots lying on shelves in the three workshops. At Ewenny most pots are stored at the bisque stage, as they can be readily glazed and fired upon orders. At the Leach, pots are produced only in slight excess of orders. The pots on the shelves are either raw or bisque, waiting to go through the next step in the process. At Maze Hill, almost all pots on shelves are raw, waiting for soda firing, or glazed pots which need grinding or storing before fairs and events.

9 In the old workshop, pots were bisqued in cool spots in the coal kiln alongside glazed ware. When electric firings were introduced, they were used for glazes, not for bisque (Research Journal, 30 Sept 2016). This illustrates how country potters were driven by economy of processes, rather than the qualities of wood-fired glazes.

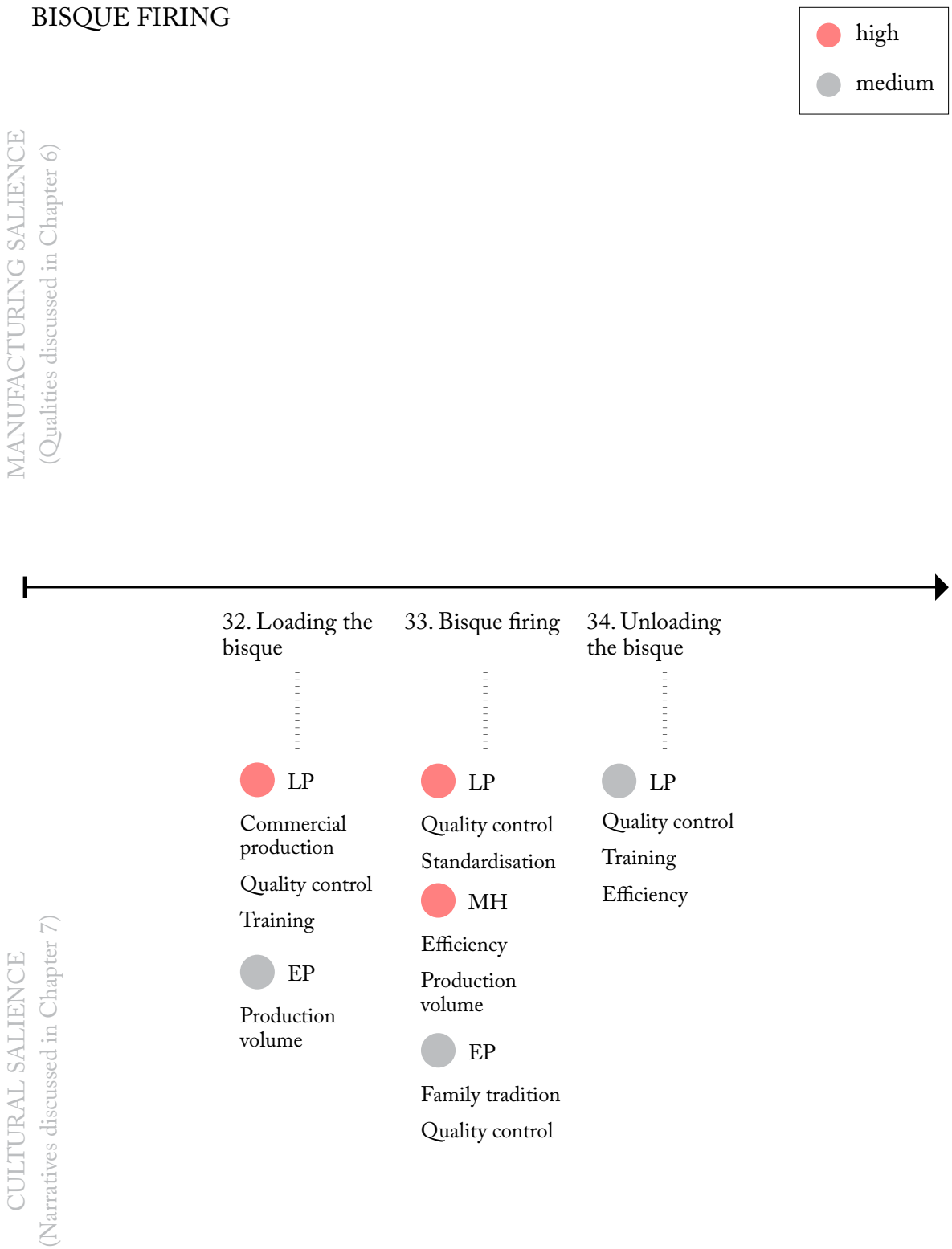

Figure 8.41 Summary of salient operations involved in the bisque firing phase across the case studies.

Figure 8.42 Tightly packed Ewenny ware, ready to be unloaded from the kiln (photo: 4 Mar 2016)

Figure 8.43 Bisque ware being unloaded from the electric kiln at the Leach Pottery (photo: 25 Apr 2016)

Figure 8.44 Bisque (left) and raw mugs (right) prepared for glaze firing at Maze Hill (photo: 23 May 2017)

Figure 8.45 Caitlin mixing slip with her arm to check its consistency (video still: 30 Sept 2016).

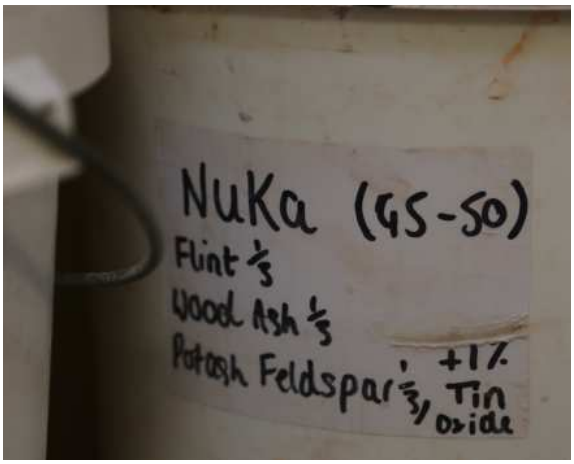

Figure 8.46 The recipes written on the glaze buckets at the Leach specify their density (i.e. 45-50), (photo: 18 Apr 2016).

Figure 8.47 Freshly slipped Maze Hill mugs and kitchen drainers (photo: 9 June 2016).

Figure 8.48 Summary of salient operations involved in the glazing phase across the case studies.

control of risk for effect and economic efficiency. The electric kiln is frequently used for evening students' classes and to bisque fire Florian's personal work, and it is therefore linked to the management of the workshop, more than the production of the tableware range.

8.2.7 Glazing

8.2.7.1 The effect of glazing on the pots

Glazing is a salient phase in the making of pottery as it is responsible for the decoration, colour and texture of surfaces. However, the relative lack of ornamentation observed across the case studies limits the complexity and relative importance of glazing operations. At Ewenny, the pots are simply decorated with the application of splash glaze and, at Maze Hill, with slips and oxides on the raw ware. At the Leach, glazing operations are important for the generation of surface qualities, but they are regimented by clear instructions and for the most part they simply need to be carried out correctly.

In addition to narratives about the aesthetics of the three ranges discussed in Chapter 6, some considerations can be made on the choice of methods employed to glaze the pots.

8.2.7.2 Narratives associated with glazing operations

As discussed in Section 7.2, many operations involved in glazing the Ewenny ware can be linked to family and broader country pottery traditions. Observations and videos of processes show the way the glaze is applied is consistent between Alun and Caitlin, and the potters link current methods to those used in the workshop in the 1950s and 60s (EP16). The mixing of glazes and slips with their arms, avoiding the need of a densimeter, exemplifies their direct approach (Figure 8.45).

In addition to the processes observed in Section 7.2, the nearly complete recycling of materials observed at Ewenny reduced physical and financial waste. The potters used all waste glaze which resulted from glazing and cleaning the pots (EP16). Three glaze recipes were mixed from raw materials: blue, brown and grey. A fourth 'slate blue' glaze was produced by mixing the three with any residual glaze from cleaning the pots. This shows the economical approach of the potters is integral to the ways they operate. The improvement and standardisation of recipes also contributed to the adaptation in Ewenny ware discussed in Section 7.2.2.

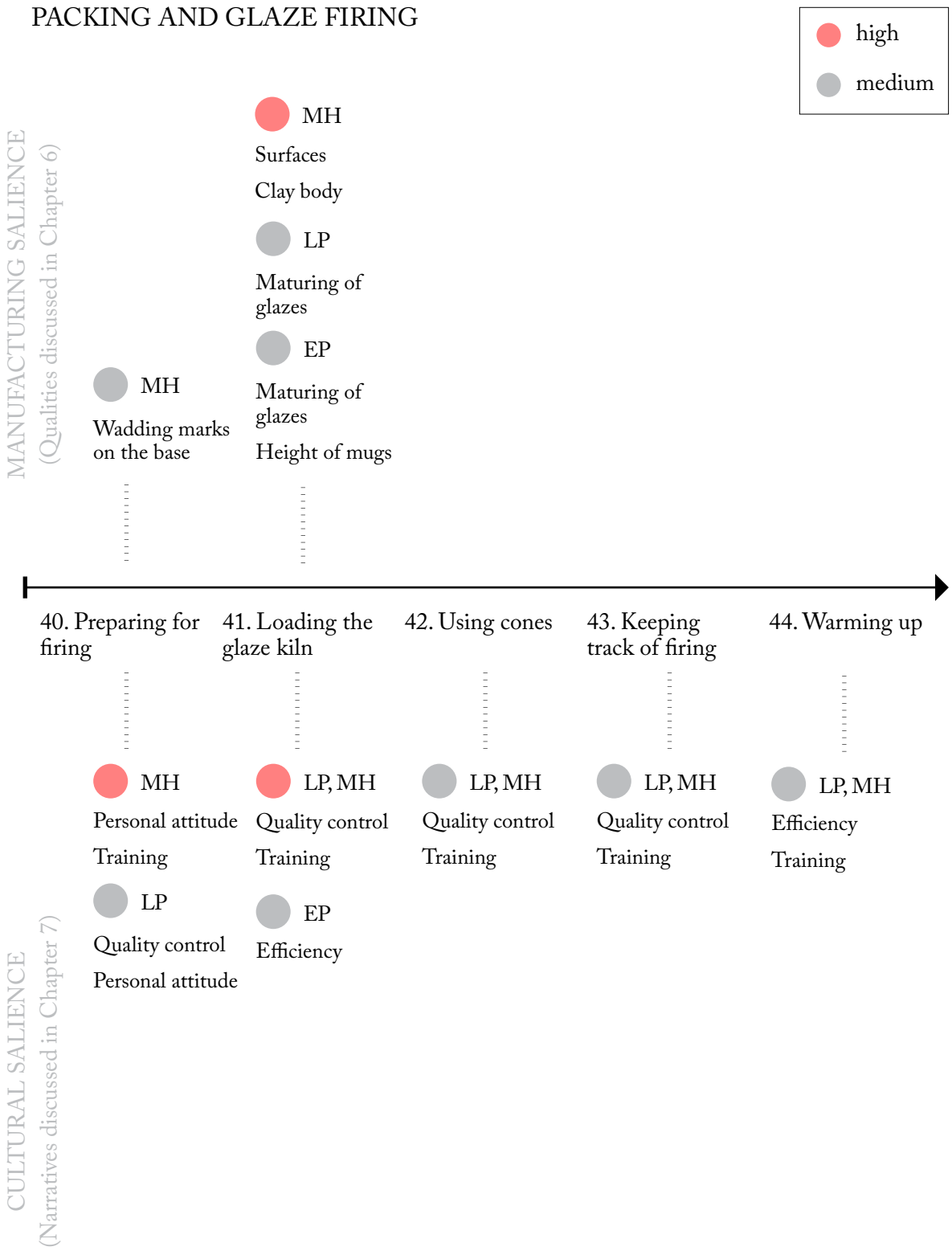

Figure 8.49 Summary of salient operations involved in packing and firing the glaze kilns across the case studies.

Figure 8.50 Pots are packed very tightly at Ewenny (photo: 4 Mar 2016)

Figure 8.51 Roelof supervising the packing of the large kiln at the Leach Pottery (photo: 27 Apr 2016)

Figure 8.52 The storing of kiln furniture is indicative of the systematic methods followed at the Leach (photo: 21 Apr 2016)

Figure 8.53 Correct preparation and placing of cones ensures control over the firing at the Leach (video still: 27 Apr 2016)

Figure 8.54 Florian gluing wadding pads onto the bases of all pots before packing (photo: 23 May 2017)

Figure 8.55 Space is left between pots of various height to let soda vapours circulate in the chamber (photo: 23 May 2017)

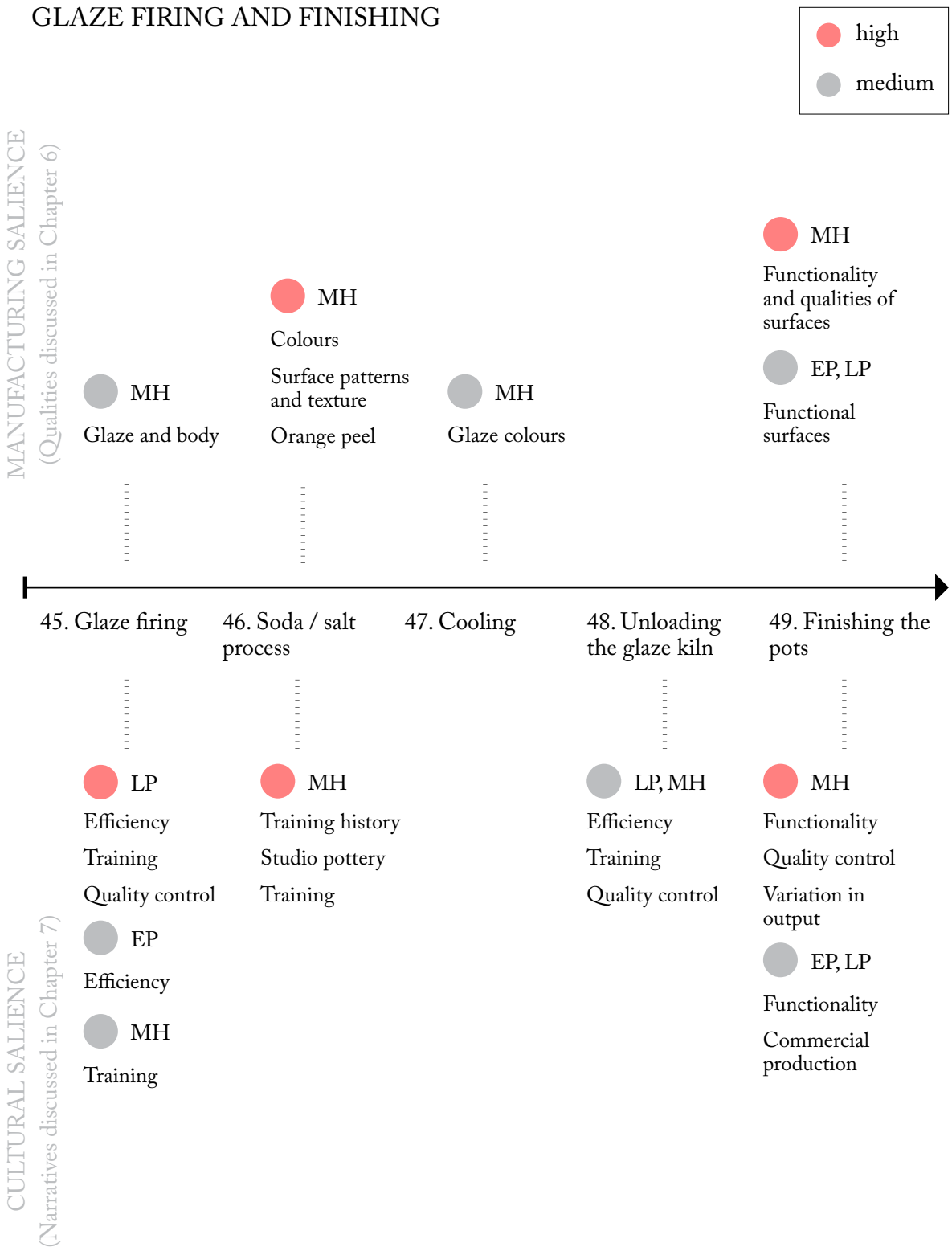

Figure 8.56 Summary of salient operations involved in the final firing operations and in finishing the pots, across the case studies.

At the Leach, the monochrome application of a limited range of glazes was controlled by exact preparatory measures communicated via explicit instructions. With Callum and Roelof mostly in charge of preparing and applying the glaze, division of labour contributed to the standardisation of the range and minimised differences in form and surface textures in the bisque ware produced by the team. This was not a deliberate choice from the start, but Roelof realised thicker glazes would guarantee a higher productivity and better qualities (LP89). This organic development of methods is typical of Roelof's approach, also illustrated by his adoption of the densimeter for ensuring the correct ratio of water in each glaze mix (Figure 8.46). Britta's accurate procedure for preparing her personal range of glazes included the use of a densimeter, and Roelof adopted it for the standard ware. As Callum and other apprentices learned to glaze under Roelof's guidance, it is hard to distinguish any personal narrative in glazing methods used in the workshops.

As described in Section 6.4.2.2.2, Maze Hill pots are not glazed on the outside, but simply slipped (Figure 8.47) and sprayed with oxides in preparation for the soda firing. Florian learned Lisa's brushed hakeme patterns on the mugs and applied them confidently (Figure 8.44). His careful preparation resulted in very consistent batches of pots, which would acquire distinct finishes in the firing. The application of slip with a rice straw brush and the terminology used to describe tools and materials (e.g. hakeme and shino) are indicative of the Japanese influences on Lisa's methods and aesthetics. The use of a liner glaze inside the pots is a common solution which reflects her attention to functionality.

8.2.8 Packing

Loading the pots into the kiln is important to ensure the correct results. Much relevance is given to packing in literature and professional practice, especially for atmospheric firings (e.g. Rogers, 2002: p.87).

At Ewenny, the economical approach leads to maximise the number of pots that can fit in the kiln by adjusting the height of the mugs (EP21) and packing very tightly (Figure 8.50). Small variations in kiln temperatures are easily noticed to prevent issues, and losses are minimal. Operations are performed in very similar ways between Alun and Caitlin, and their relative simplicity does not enable major narratives to emerge.

This is also largely the case at the Leach, although the procedure comprises more steps

Figure 8.57 Lisa spraying the soda mix into the kiln (photo: 18 Feb 2016).

Figure 8.58 Lisa inspecting the built up of soda glaze on clay rings extracted from the kiln (photo: 17 June 2016).

Figure 8.59 Florian checking the chamber through a spy hole during the reduction phase (photo: 18 Feb 2016).

Figure 8.60 Caitlin finishing the base of a pot with a chisel (photo: 29 Sept 2016).

Figure 8.61 Kat grinding pots freshly unloaded from the kiln (photo: 29 July 2016).

Figure 8.62 Pots on shelves at Maze Hill waiting to be ground and polished (photo: 17 June 2016).

[Appendix D.2]. Packing kilns is regimented by Roelof's instructions (Figure 8.51). All potters are encouraged to participate and are put in charge of loading the kilns in rotation. Packing the gas kiln does not result in additional qualities in the ware, but much attention is paid on processes which may affect the correct execution of firing. The maturing of clay and glazes to the desired qualities requires the correct exposure to the heat in the kilns, and the potters learn to pack appropriately, knowing differences between hot and cool spots, and typologies and glazes which are ideally placed in the various sections of the kiln (Research Journal, 27 Apr 2016). This extensive exchange of information forms a fertile ground for learning firing procedures, developing a systematic approach (Figure 8.52) and making sense of the results from the firings. Cones are used for monitoring key temperatures and are carefully prepared and placed in key areas of the kiln (Figure 8.53). Overall, the packing procedure reflects the educational mission of the workshop, measures for the quality assurance of the output and commercial efficiency.

As discussed in Section 7.4.2, the atmospheric firings at Maze Hill also require much preparation but a different approach. Florian was normally in charge of packing the ware and preparing the kiln. Shelves were cleaned and washed with alumina, and pots were placed on balls of wadding glued with PVA before being laid on the shelves (Figure 8.54). Much space was required for air circulation, which meant the kilns were not packed as tightly as at the Leach or Ewenny, and the process was naturally less efficient (Figure 8.55). The approach was regulated by Lisa's technical control and understanding of firing, but much was decided on the day. The distinct exposure of each pot would result in unique qualities and this variation was accommodated by a sales model in which pots could be assessed, priced and sold individually.

8.2.9 Glaze firing

Although glaze firing is an important phase in the ceramic process, the processes employed at Ewenny and the Leach potteries show low manufacturing salience as fired pots are largely expected to match the qualities intended by the potters, if all procedures are executed correctly (Figure 8.56). Procedures are controlled through technology and precise instructions.

By contrast, at Maze Hill the soda firing is a salient phase in the making of the functional

range. Colours, textures and patterns emerge from the reactions of the soda and salt mix with the pots in the kilns. Requirements about direction, amount, concentration and timing of soda sprayings vary with the weather and the type of ware loaded in the kiln. The potters also need to ensure the correct oxygen intake and temperature in the kiln at all times. The complexity of the tasks and high risk involved in the operations demonstrate their importance in producing the qualities desired for the ware [as discussed in Section 7.4.2].

At Ewenny, many considerations made for bisque firing also apply to glaze firing. The same kilns are employed and the procedures reflect the economical methods of the potters as well as common standards. The relative simplicity of the procedure does not allow for personal expression, but the general approach is associated with the need to control processes and improve the quality of the ware, reduce losses to increase profitability, and the size of the kilns are linked to the rhythm of production.

At the Leach, the complex gas firings are regulated by Roelof's measures to ensure a high quality output, consistent to commercial standards, whilst also providing an opportunity to train apprentices and volunteers on an important phase in the pottery process. For example, the initial warm up of the chamber can be managed by junior staff to practice firing skills at a stage when the risk for the pots is limited and other team members can supervise their actions. As observed for packing the kilns, the actions potters undertake to fire the pots highlight narratives such as production pottery, pragmatism, education, standardisation and efficiency.

This differs from Maze Hill, where firings require constant taming based on Lisa's expert knowledge of the process (Figure 8.57). As discussed in Section 7.4.2, the potters strive for the highest quality (Figure 8.58) and are aware of the variation inherent to the process. Florian's neat attitude could be observed in the notes he took on the kiln book, but overall his style of soda firing was largely developed during his apprenticeship and followed the workshop's requirements (Figure 8.59).

8.2.10 Finishing

As the pots come out of the kiln they may require some sanding or grinding to remove sharp corners and other imperfections. At Ewenny this is done minimally, by simply rubbing a chisel at the base (Figure 8.60).

The Leach potters systematically grind all pottery coming out of the kiln, to remove the sharpness that can develop on high-fired stoneware (Figure 8.61). This is a straightforward operation usually conducted by junior potters, which is not linked to narratives other than the commercial requirement to guarantee the functionality of the range.

At Maze Hill, the grinding and chiselling of the pots completes the complex firings and plays a key role in the final preparation of the pots for sale (Figure 8.62). Much effort is put into cleaning, grindings and washing the kiln and the shelves after a firing. The labour adds extra costs and time, but cleaning is integral to the soda process.

8.3 Conclusions

Through a detailed and systematic analysis of the production of the case study mugs, this chapter has discussed processes involved in making contemporary British hand-thrown tableware. The interrelation of qualities, narratives and processes anticipated in previous chapters was analysed through an original theoretical framework based on the concept of salience. The analysis of the salience of all operations required to produce the case study mugs constitutes the main contribution to knowledge of the study. This has located the origins of the qualities described in Chapter 6 and the narratives identified in Chapter 7 in the operations involved in producing the ware. The systematic discussion of professional pottery practices responds to limitations identified in current literature on pottery practices. The findings have addressed the lack of critical analysis in current literature [Section 2.3, point A] and enriched the abstract overviews of techniques aimed at aspiring potters which are offered in pottery manuals [Section 2.3, point B].

The distinction between manufacturing and cultural salience was effective in eliciting detailed findings about potters, products and processes. The different distribution of manufacturing and cultural salience along the operational sequences demonstrates the usefulness of assessing the two concepts separately. The findings on manufacturing salience show many operations can be considered merely preparatory or conservative, whilst others can be directly linked with the creation of key qualities appreciated in the ware. By contrast, in each case study, cultural salience is found throughout the sequence. The identification of recurrent narratives across making phases supports the validity of the findings. As anticipated in Chapter 7, evidence of narratives elicited in conversations and direct

experience with the potters is found in the interpretations of techniques recorded on video.

Inspired by the discussion on active and passive style in archaeology (Childs, 1991: p.336), the analysis of cultural salience has made a further distinction between aspects of technological style which more directly reflect instructions received from their master potter and the personal style of the potters, performed more passively through making habits and embodied techniques. The distinction acknowledges the role of individual potters in the production of pots designed by others, avoiding the 'designer/maker' standpoint assumed by much literature on pottery making [Section 2.3, point I]. This has enabled the identification of physical details and personal narratives at a resolution not commonly available in literature. For example, the findings on ribbing contrasts with the limited considerations on variation among potters included in Tyas (2014: p.137), which were based on decades-old recollections. The discussion of operations showing both manufacturing and cultural salience can provide tools for connoisseurship and appreciation. The study has associated variation in output with biographical narratives of individual potters, and their personal methods of making. This has provided insights into minute variation in the ware which can enhance scholarly knowledge of the ranges and, more generally, the appreciation of the pots for commercial or curated contexts.

Narratives are reflected in all phases in the making, even in operations which do not directly generate tangible qualities in the final ware. The findings are in line with those of the ethno-archaeological studies which initially inspired the approach of this thesis [Section 2.1.2.7]. In particular, the analysis of centring has shown that important biographical and cultural traits can be attributed to actions which are lost in the subsequent transformation of the materials. As Gosselain observed (2000: p.193), more embodied techniques which are subject to limited exposure and not likely to change over time can reflect rooted patterns of cultural identity. In the context of contemporary British practices, this was observed in operations associated with habits which originated in earlier training and work experience, including methods of centring and opening out across cases, and wedging clay at Ewenny (Figure 8.2).

The detailed examination of the effects of distinct ribbing techniques on manufacturing qualities contrasts with the superficial explanations offered in pottery manuals [Section

2.1.5.11.2]. Similarly, the findings reappraise the importance of handling in the making of hand-thrown tableware. Pulled handles are a much appreciated feature which requires embodied skills and minimal use of tools. Across cases, handling operations show a level of complexity only comparable to throwing. From a cultural perspective, the operations involved in centring, ribbing and handling the pots are highlighted for their association with numerous key narratives. These are made evident by the examination of tools and techniques which originated in distinct contexts and reflect the cultural identity of the potters, or the making approaches encouraged by the master potters. In the absence of detailed historical studies of techniques tracing the cultural origins of methods [Section 2.3, point E], the study has found evidence of connections in historical films of potters at work and publications on artisanal British potteries.

Many examples of the co-production of processes, qualities and narratives have been identified and discussed. Alternative material approaches are not simply employed from a portfolio of isochrestic variants, but are the result of the complex interrelation of many factors. Theoretical explanations of the mechanics of pottery processes have been complemented by the examination of the contexts in which operations were performed and their relative importance in reproducing specific designs and manufacturing qualities. Pottery making methods can be described in terms of tools and mechanics of movement, but their coupling is not sufficient to describe the complexity of approaches encountered in professional workshops. The findings move away from a 'problem solving' understanding of processes [Section 2.3, point G] and towards a cultural interpretation of pottery processes which can associate methods with key qualities and narratives. Narratives such as the educational mission of the workshops (i.e. Leach and Maze Hill), or their adherence to traditions (at the Leach and Ewenny) shape making methods alongside more strictly processual and aesthetic considerations [Section 2.3, point H]. The findings support the association between the old and the new Leach workshops identified by some authors in lineages of forms (e.g. Tyas, 2014: p.208) and the heritage of the site (e.g. Olding, 2008: p.18) with the evidence from a detailed and systematic analysis of processes.

By examining the entire sequence of operations, the study has also successfully captured the role brief actions can play in the generation of key qualities. The findings on making the bevel on the Leach mug exemplify the approach of the study (Section 8.2.3.4). The example

of the bevel illustrates the complex interrelation of qualities, narratives and processes, insufficiently captured in technical literature.

The ethnographic treatment of all material and personal reflection on the case studies have identified valid alternative approaches across cases, in response to the personal stances which characterise much literature on pottery [Section 2.3, point C]. The study has discussed multiple interpretations of the same elements or qualities offered by the participants, such as the disregard for handles of round section in the Leach tradition (also expressed by Florian on site), which is in fact a key design feature at Ewenny, originated in country pottery methods and continuously employed for many decades.

The practical applications of the research are discussed in the next chapter.

9 Conclusions

"It is good to be a potter. At work, the potter manages the transformation of nature, building culture while fulfilling the self, serving society, and patching the world together with pieces of clay that connect the past with the present, the useful with the beautiful, the material with the spiritual. The one who can do all that does enough. The potter has won the right to confidence".

(Glassie, 1999: p.116)

9.1 Summary of findings

This final chapter summarises the contributions of the research, evaluates its methods, and proposes practical applications and implications for future studies.

The research has combined a practice-led approach typical of art and design studies with social scientific theories and methods of enquiry. An original framework for the study of contemporary pottery practices was developed and employed to inform a critical discussion of making operations with a focus on the production of qualities and narratives. These constitute key aspects of the work appreciated by makers and authors on pottery, as testified by the language potters use to describe and promote their products [as noted in Section 1.1.1 and illustrated by the review of literature in Section 2.2].

The examination was conducted at various scales, from the high-resolution analysis of making operations and reflection on single gestures, to wider cultural and technical comparisons across cases and with literature. Findings were elicited, analysed and assessed through a mix-method strategy [Section 3.1.3] which included observation of potters at work, interviews and conversations in their workshops, video analysis of processes and reflection by making the ware in the manner of the practitioners observed (i.e. by imitating their technological style), [Section 3.2.7]. Operations were identified, recorded and discussed individually with the potters. The study has presented the multiplicity of views and approaches to making encountered during fieldwork, and supported any claims about the case studies with visual, textual and analytical evidence at a resolution not currently available in literature.

9.1.1 Contribution to knowledge

The main contribution to knowledge of the study is the systematic analysis of the salience of the operational sequence involved in making mugs in the three case studies. The study has identified key physical qualities of the pots [in Chapter 6] and key narratives associated with the potters and their processes [in Chapter 7], and located their origins in the sequence of operations involved in the production of the ware [in Chapter 8]. Thus, the study has fulfilled the aims discussed in Section 1.2.1 and answered the research questions RQ1, RQ2 and RQ3.

In 1973, Lechtman and Steinberg asked rethorically:

> *"If we claim that technologies are totally integrated systems that manifest cultural choices and values, what is the nature of that manifestation and how can we "read" it?" (cited in Lechtman, 1977: p. 270).*

The answer provided by this study has been to develop an original framework and implement the mixed-method strategy discussed in Section 3.2. As explained in Section 1.3.9, the focus on the mugs has enabled a close examination of products and methods, and direct comparisons across cases. This has informed a discussion of qualities across tableware typologies and narratives more broadly, which illustrates the complexity of contemporary British hand-thrown tableware practices. The findings have shown that "cultural choices and values" (ibid) are reflected in material approaches such as making and using tools, performing techniques and adhering to specific making styles.

The original framework developed for the analysis can inform other ceramic studies and contribute to craft research more broadly.

9.1.1.1 A critical framework for the study of pottery practices

The systematic analysis of the continuous processes employed to produce the case study mugs was inspired by the concept of operational sequence (Tostevin, 2011; Stark, 1999; Leroi-Gourhan, 1993) and the methodical study of pottery conducted by archaeologists (e.g. Cort and Lefferts, 2010). The originality of the approach builds on the adoption of precise terminology and concepts developed by social scientists for the study of contemporary British pottery. Gosselain (2000, 1992) suggested a review of pottery practice which discussed aspects of cultural identity of the potters based on the concepts of salience,

technical malleability and social context [Section 2.1.2]. This study has assessed additional parameters such as complexity, division of labour and variation observed for each operation, and made a further distinction in considering manufacturing salience as separate from cultural salience. These are defined as the relative importance of a given making operation to generate qualities or narratives associated with the ware, respectively [a sample of the analysis is shown in Appendix D].

The concepts of manufacturing and cultural salience are not intended as independent ontological categories, but as a dialectical tool for analysis and comparison across practices. The continuity of the ceramic process suggests all operations are essential, however the concept of salience recognises some operations can be more closely associated with key qualities and narratives which characterise the potters' work. Qualities and narratives are closely interrelated and co-produced in the making of pottery. The study has developed and employed a strategy to locate and discuss their origins within the sequence of operations.

The concept of style relates to the analysis of physical characteristics in the ware, as well as to behavioural patterns adopted by potters in the making, i.e. their *technological style* (Lechtman, 1977). As observed in Section 2.1.2.3, technological style relates to Bourdieu's *habitus* (a concept more commonly employed in contemporary craft studies), as learned behaviours are reflected in the goods people make (Stark, 1999: p.28).

Inspired by the discussion on style developed in archaeology (Sackett, 1982; Childs, 1991), the study has made a further distinction between embodied techniques and approaches which originated in previous training and experience, and procedures more directly derived from the instructions received in the current workshops. Participants across cases made clear references to the origins of their methods and how they adapted them to respond to contingent conditions of work and design requirements. Comparing and discussing processes and qualities linked to either personal methods or the workshop's instructions have helped identify biographical, technological and socio-cultural narratives linked to each operation. This has led to a critical discussion of pottery making operations in professional contexts which complements more theoretical explanations of techniques offered in pottery manuals [discussed in Section 2.1.5].

The effectiveness of the framework and that of the research strategy are demonstrated by

Limitations in literature Section 2.3	Summary of key findings Section 9.1	Discussed in Section
A. Lack of critical framework	original framework: manufacturing and cultural salience, technological style	**9.1.1** Contribution to knowledge
B. Basic descriptions and focus on single products	systematic discussion of qualities of tableware and notes on variation within and across batches	**9.1.2** Key findings on qualities
C. Personal stances	ethnographic treatment of all material and personal reflection reveal alternative approaches and offer multiple interpretations	
D. Focus on consumption, cultural identity or behaviour	focus on making processes elicited key narratives associated with potters, pots and processes	**9.1.3** Key findings on narratives
E. Scarce historical analysis	evidence of correlation between current approaches and techniques described in literature and recorded in historical films	
F. Theoretical analysis of key phases	systematic analysis of salience led to reappraisal of making phases and brief operations underexamined in current literature	**9.1.4** Key findings on manufacturing salience
G. Problem-solving	analysis of technological style moves towards a cultural interpretation of pottery processes	
H. Emphasis on aesthetics	multiple narratives can affect making processes and final qualities, e.g. teaching, heritage, efficiency of processes	**9.1.5** Key findings on cultural salience
I. Designer / maker *'studio bias'*	division of labour and diversity of technological styles within a team affect qualities, narratives and processes	

Figure 9.1 Summary of key findings in relation to limitations identified in current literature on hand-thrown pottery

the findings of the study, summarised in Figure 9.1 and discussed below.

9.1.2 Key findings on qualities

In Chapter 6, the study has presented a detailed examination of key physical characteristics of the case study ware, informed by the inspection of the pots, the potters' own descriptions and reflection on the attempts to reproduce the mugs. Qualities of mugs and other tableware have been discussed systematically and described in more detail than in most pottery anthologies and catalogues [Section 2.1.5], as current literature tends to provide just enough information to satisfy a consumer's needs (Harrod, 1990: p.44).

The mixed-method approach of the study has been effective in eliciting information on qualities at a high resolution, collected and presented in a systematic manner for each key design element of the mugs, and discussed more broadly for other tableware typologies. Photos have illustrated points made in the text rather than replacing detailed descriptions.

The discussion of formal and surface qualities of the tableware at its 'complete' stage was followed by observations on the consistency of the three ranges. The analysis of professional batch production complements the more simplistic and abstract descriptions of pottery methods found in current literature aimed at aspiring potters [Section 2.3, point B].

The ethnographic and inclusive approach has avoided the personal stances which permeate much literature on pottery [Section 2.3, point C]. The analysis has led to the appreciation of diverse design solutions and manufacturing qualities in the three ranges, following distinct parameters of craftsmanship and aesthetics set out by the potters.

Identifying key characteristics in each range has enabled the location of their origins in the operational sequences, informing the discussion of salience in Chapter 8.

9.1.3 key findings on narratives

The study has defined the material and cultural contexts in which the pots were produced. Key narratives were identified for each case study based on the coding of material gathered through fieldwork and reflection by making [Chapter 7]. This has considered the "pre-purchase narratives, expressed in makers' websites" (Woolley and Niedderer, 2016: p.162) but challenged simplistic associations, e.g. with craftsmanship and tradition, by searching for evidence of narratives in the making processes. The ethnographic treatment of all

information has revealed alternative approaches and offered multiple interpretations of pottery processes [Section 2.3, point C].

The study has discussed narratives which are commonly associated with handmade pottery, such as 'traditional cultural heritage', 'personal stories', 'integrity', 'creativity' and 'craftsmanship'. These could be linked to the potters' relationship with tools, the techniques they employ and the general approaches to making they describe and demonstrate on site [Section 2.3, point D]. To some extent, all participants are related to British studio pottery methods and operate in the same market as individual studio makers. However, marked differences in narratives highlight the distinct influences of country and production pottery approaches. The lack of systematic and critical historical analysis of lineages [Section 2.3, point E] hinders the definite cultural association of contemporary practices with past traditions and approaches, but the study has supported anecdotal evidence from literature and historical films with triangulation from multiple sources.

At Ewenny, the potters work in respect of family traditions which reflect broader British country pottery methods. In a critical article about studio ceramics and after identifying Ewenny as local country pottery, Jeffrey Jones wondered:

> *"If the story of these small, local potteries continues to be told through a studio ceramics centred narrative how faithful can that story be to the experiences of the participants within that story?" (2000).*

This study has identified evidence of narratives about heritage - actively encouraged by the potters - in the making and use of tools, numerous techniques employed by the potters and general approach to making. In particular, video comparisons have offered ways to visualise tradition, by demonstrating that many techniques performed by Alun and Caitlin are very close and relate to those performed by Arthur Jenkins in the 1960s, recorded on video (Ladybird Cine Group, n.d. (1960s)). The study has also challenged simplistic statements on the origins of methods made by the potters, and identified extensive adaptations such as those introduced over the years to improve the consistency, safety compliance and general quality of Ewenny ware.

At the Leach, video comparisons have offered a clear visualisation of the diversity of technological styles operating in the team. In many cases, ethnographic interviews and conversations could trace their origins in the potters' early training and previous

experience. The analysis of ribbing highlighted how differences in technological styles are accommodated by the design of the range (with its organic style and thick glazes), minimised by quality control measures and modified to meet the requirements of the master potter. The examination of Kat's method of opening out has revealed the connection of her technique with methods learned at college, and her own influence as a teacher on other members of the team.

At Maze Hill, the apprenticeship scheme shapes both qualities and narratives. The flexibility Lisa allows her apprentices is reflected in differences observed in the mugs made over the years. Video comparisons show this is not only an aesthetic choice but the result of distinct styles of making. The signature qualities of Maze Hill ware derive from a relationship with risk in the soda firings which contrasts with the approaches of the other case studies. This suggests an idea of craftsmanship for which Pye's concept of 'workmanship of risk' is not appropriate, in line with the findings of other ceramic scholars (Kim, 2014).

9.1.4 Key findings on manufacturing salience

This thesis has assessed the salience of all operations involved in making the case study mugs in relation to the production of key qualities identified in the ware [as summarised in Figure 8.1 on page 338]. This has informed a discussion of the relative importance of phases in the making of tableware in professional British workshops.

The distribution of manufacturing salience is uneven across the sequence. Many phases can be considered preparatory or conservative for elements and qualities which are mostly generated in other operations. The findings have confirmed the importance of phases such as throwing, glazing and firing, but also point to considerable differences across practices. For example, late phases (i.e. packing, glaze firing and finishing the pots) play a more crucial role at Maze Hill than they do at Ewenny or the Leach.

Within making phases, the study has identified the salience of individual operations. For example, during a throwing session, the first actions on the wheel (e.g. centring, opening out) are merely preparatory whereas methods for compressing the floor, pulling walls, making the rim or adding a foot are linked to key qualities. The analysis of professional practices differ from the theoretical discussions of making phases presented in pottery

manuals, which are aimed at aspiring potters [Section 2.3, point F]. In those texts, the use of simple descriptions and extensive photographs emphasises "visible skill" (Gates, 2016: p.116). In this study, ethnographic observation and especially the attempts to reproduce processes in the same style as the participants have revealed aspects of the potters' work which could not be captured on camera. This has pointed to the high salience of operations such as making the bevel on Leach ware and creating the 'foot' on Ewenny ware [Section 8.2.3.4]. Brief operations can be important to produce the desired design elements and manufacturing qualities of a specific range. Operations described in simple terms in pottery manuals (e.g. sponging or cutting pots off the wheel with a wire) can play an important role in the manufacturing of tableware.

The findings lead to the reappraisal of handling as a very salient phase. Forms and surface qualities of handles are key to the appreciation of handled tableware. General approaches to making (e.g. the economical style of Ewenny potters) and patterns of knowledge transfer across members of a team (e.g. at the Leach) have been revealed by the study of handling techniques.

Alternative material approaches and multiple interpretations offered by the participants have been identified and discussed across cases. Qualities and operations have been assessed according to the standards set out by the potters in each environment. For example, the disregard for handles of round section in the Leach tradition (also expressed by Florian on site) is a key design feature at Ewenny, which originated in country pottery methods and has been continuously employed for many decades.

The analysis of technological styles observed in professional practices moves towards a cultural interpretation of pottery processes which reveals different material approaches involved in technical choices. This enriches the understanding of making practices beyond abstract and mechanical explanations of techniques.

9.1.5 Key findings on cultural salience

The systematic analysis of making operations - identified, recorded and discussed individually with the potters - has led to the elicitation of numerous narratives associated with pots, potters and processes. Unlike the uneven distribution of manufacturing salience observed across the sequence, the study has identified biographical, technical and socio-

cultural narratives in all phases in the making. Operations can reveal key aspects of the potters' approaches to making which are rooted in early training or past experience. This is illustrated by the discussion on clay preparation at Ewenny and opening out at the Leach [Chapter 7], and the analysis of centring, ribbing and handling [Chapter 8].

The findings on contemporary British hand-thrown tableware align with Gosselain's study of contemporary traditional West African potters. The analysis of cultural salience shows that important narratives can be associated with making operations which require the development of skills, are not likely to be replaced over time and do not affect visible qualities in the ware. In the UK context, this is exemplified by the operation of centring clay on the wheel, which is linked to key narratives across cases. Centring has been long associated with the action of the potter at the wheel, but its symbolic association with centredness (Caiger-Smith, 1995; Richards, 1989 (1964)) has received more attention than the mechanics of the movements and, especially, the cultural contexts which shape alternative techniques. Several methods can be identified across pottery manuals, but these are rarely discussed in comparison or in relation to making styles. In the absence of a historical or cultural study of centring techniques, the study has found some correlation between the straightforward method of pressing clay down with both hands and country pottery practices. This is supported by anecdotal evidence from the limited sources available on country pottery methods (e.g. McGarva, 2000) and historical films of potters at work. Similarly, coning methods observed at the Leach and Maze Hill are associated with studio pottery and oriental methods.

A further distinction between aspects of technological styles linked to embodied personal methods and those derived more openly from the workshop's instructions enabled the discussion of the effect of individuality in work carried out in workshops. The findings on the ribbing techniques illustrate the approach [Section 8.2.3.5]. Ribbing is linked to key narratives across cases and is indicative of making styles. The discussion of Britta's style of ribbing at the Leach has especially highlighted the potential conflict between a potter's technological style and the requirements set by the master potter. It has also shown the role the design of the range and quality control measures can play in accommodating or limiting any discrepancies among different making styles.

Similarly, the study has found evidence of the narratives identified in Chapter 7 in the use of tools and techniques across operations. Throwing, handling and glazing operations reflect the legacy of the old workshop and country pottery methods on the work carried out by the Jenkins at Ewenny. Their economical approach is reflected in numerous operations and their general attitude, from making their own tools to using a minimal amount of water and the efficiency of movements when throwing and handling. At the Leach and Maze Hill, teaching apprentices and junior potters is integral to the management of the workshops, affects many operations and in some cases also affects physical characteristics of the pots (as noted in the discussion on variation in Chapter 6).

Overall, the analysis has highlighted the different contexts in which the workshops operate and produced critical insights into professional pottery practices at a resolution not currently available in literature. Inspired by the approach of archaeologists (Gosselain, 2000; Childs, 1991), the study has recognised and identified the behavioural basis of variation and linked it, in many cases, to personal and social identities. In the context of contemporary pottery practices, the study shows the alternative methods discussed across pottery manuals are insufficient to describe the reality of professional practice. Techniques are not simply chosen off the shelves from a catalogue of possible options. Variation in processes is not only isochrestic but stylistic. It is the result of the influence of philosophies of making, artistic ideals and material approaches onto daily practice.

The 'problem solving' approach of contemporary studio potters originated in the Studio Pottery Movement in the 20th century, with the potters' isolation from industrial processes, reliance on supplied materials, tools and machinery and investigative approach focused on producing original solutions and aesthetics (Stair, 2002; Jones, 1999). Although to some extent all participants to this study can be associated with British studio pottery and theoretically operate in the same market as studio makers, important cultural distinctions can be made among cases, as discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. Evidence for associations with cultural categories such as 'studio', 'country' or 'production' pottery are found in the choice of materials, their use of tools and hand techniques, employment of machinery, scale of production and other aspects of day-to-day work in a professional workshop, as well as more commonly explored characteristics such as technical terms, artistic references and aesthetic styles.

9.2 Applications of the research

9.2.1 Documenting making practices

The combination of research strategy and theoretical framework employed in this study has proved effective in documenting makers' practices at a high resolution. Feedback on interim research findings collected from potters and amateurs showed a high interest in more comprehensive and critical understanding of contemporary professional practices.

As noted in Section 2.1.5.3, important developments in oral history have seen the creation of rich databases of interviews with potters. Biographies of makers and recollections play an important role in documenting craft practice. These accounts highlight cultural influences and general material approaches followed in historical workshops but inevitably fail to match the richness of detail that can be captured from direct exposure to practitioners at work.

Paul Harper also observes a limitation in the art historical framework in which accounts of oral history are collected:

> *"there is further need for material which does not focus on the life-stories of eminent individuals, and which gives particular attention to making practice, in itself, accessible to the researcher. Material that looks at craft beyond the idea of key figures, gives accounts of and explores what craftspeople do when they are making" (2013: p.171).*

Following the methods employed in this study, the systematic documentation of pottery making through ethnography, reflection and video analysis can inform a body of literature which documents professional practices in action, by maintaining a focus on processes rather than communities. The original framework developed in this study can be employed to record and discuss the co-production of qualities, narratives and processes. The findings complement those of oral history and other approaches, thus benefiting the study of contemporary practices, informing the preservation of craft skills and providing a useful database of information for future research.

9.2.2 Teaching and learning pottery[1]

At a time in which ceramic degrees in the country are reduced to a small number of colleges [Section 1.1.2], the analysis of professional pottery making can enhance the more theoretical information provided in technical handbooks and problematise the standard studio pottery curriculum taught in classes, as well as more informal learning. A cultural understanding of approaches and techniques can provide a more critical background for aspiring potters, to raise awareness on the cultural dimension of their work, rooted in the history of techniques and biographical lineages.

More directly, the methods employed in the study for the analysis of processes can inform the teaching and learning of pottery techniques. The ability to capture Matt's evolution in skills [Section 7.3.1] suggested the possibility of employing video to guide a potter's learning path. Matt explained that watching the videos helped him understand what he was doing wrong and promptly correct his methods (LP106). Similar comments were made by Britta and Callum (LP29).

Reflexive thinking through video analysis does not provide a shortcut from practising, and new understanding is always tested in 'active experimentation' and 'concrete experience' (Kolb, 1983). The Leach potters explained their progress as 'learning by doing' in interviews (LP34) and are aware that many iterations are necessary to acquire craft skills. However, the regular monitoring of the number of operations, their duration and any use of water recorded in videos [e.g. Appendix E.1] could be used as part of a structured learning path for students and practising potters to point out intermediate steps to improve skills to the next level. The tacit knowledge involved in making pottery and other crafts can constitute 'troublesome knowledge' (Meyer and Land, 2006: p.13) and prevent students from progressing. Video comparisons can provide an additional form of engagement with making processes and their analysis can guide students beyond the required 'knowledge threshold' (ibid).

9.2.3 Connoisseurship and curation

The study has illustrated a method to identify the contribution of individual potters to work

1 This section contains notes first presented at the Digitally Engaged Learning conference, held in London on 14th and 15th September 2017 (Salani, 2018).

carried out in workshops. For Philip Rawson, "we have not yet got to the stage where we can identify correctly from their products the individual hands working at forming (as well as decorating) in many potteries" (1971: p.122). "But", he added, "in principle we should be able to". The high-resolution analysis of the potters' technological styles has revealed narratives which complement information obtained through more common approaches, such as formal analysis and art history. If it is true that "an understanding of process is central to pottery appreciation as well as pottery making" (McErlain, 2012: p.35), the elicitation of additional narratives through the analysis of making processes can enhance the conventional appreciation of hand-thrown tableware in galleries and museums.

For operations linked to both manufacturing and cultural salience, narratives can be traced directly on tangible qualities on the ware and can be used as a connoisseur's tool to pointedly 'read' characteristics in the pots [as in the case of spirals or cutting marks described in Chapter 6]. When a direct effect on qualities is not identified, narratives can be linked to making operations and be communicated using videos of processes. This suggests the value of the research approach for connoisseurship and curation.

9.3 Implications for future research

9.3.1 Longitudinal studies of pottery processes

Craft historians have reassessed the studio pottery movement in the 20th century and discussed its historical origins and idiosyncrasies (Stair, 2002; Jones, 1999; Harrod, 1999). Studio pottery emerged from specific historical events, craft traditions and philosophies, but contemporary practices continue to be bound to ideals of self-expression which see techniques as means to an end. The field lacks a systematic analysis of the great variety of skills and techniques used by potters which can trace their origins in various cultural contexts. The study has discussed some distinction between more stereotypically 'studio' approaches, and the influence of production pottery and country pottery methods on the case studies.

The research has provided anecdotal evidence for the transmission and evolution of techniques among the participants to the study. Its theoretical framework and research strategy could be employed in a longitudinal analysis of pottery practices. Anecdotal

evidence collected for the study (Smith, 2017) suggests there is potential to expand the analysis of lineages and influences to trace back the evolution of techniques from potter to potter, in what remains a relatively confined network of practitioners. Feedback received during the study suggests this would be of great interest to potters. It could lead to a more conscious adoption of tools and techniques to match a potter's philosophy of making.

9.3.2 Material culture study of narratives

Anecdotal evidence collected for the study pointed out some discrepancy between the narratives emerging from the analysis of making methods and their perception by customers. The findings on narratives elicited in the analysis of making processes would find an ideal counterpart in material culture studies of post-production and post-consumption narratives associated with contemporary British hand-thrown tableware. This would follow the evolution of the narratives associated with the 'life of the pots', which could guide the promotion of the products by potters, buyers and gallerists, and lead to a more informed appreciation among users of hand-thrown tableware.

9.3.3 Research development

This study constitutes a first step towards a cultural understanding of British pottery practices. The approach would benefit from the analysis of further cases through the implementation of the methodology introduced and triangulation among results.

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LIST OF INTERVIEWS AND CONVERSATIONS

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MH03 Gadsby, F., 2016. Conversation with the author, 10th June. Maze Hill.
MH04 Gadsby, F., 2016. Interview with the author, 8th December. Maze Hill.
MH05 Hammond, L., 2016. Conversation with the author, 8th December. Maze Hill.
MH06 Hammond, L., 2016. Interview with the author, 13th December. Maze Hill.
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MH12 Gadsby, F., 2017. Conversation with the author, 25th May. Maze Hill.
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MH16 Gadsby, F., 2017. Conversation with the author, 26th May. Maze Hill.
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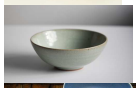
MH18 Gadsby, F., 2017. Interview with the author, 26th May. Maze Hill.
KW01 Bramble-Carter, F., 2015. Conversation with the author, 10th October. Kingsgate Workshops. London.
KW02 Hanson, J., 2015. Conversation with the author, 24th October. Kingsgate Workshops. London.
KW03 Bramble-Carter, F., 2015. Conversation with the author, 4th December. Kingsgate Workshops. London.
OA01 Oxford Anagama, 2016. Conversations with participants, 13th-15th May. Oxford.

Appendix A

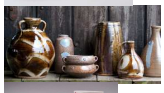
A.1 Practice review: list of practices

Reference photo	Name	Practice name	Indicative category	Years of practice	Region	Publications	Source
	Adrienne Baba		Production modernists	30	Oxfordshire		http://www.adriennebaba.com/
	Akiko Hirai	Chocolate Factory	Country orientalists	15	London		http://www.akikohiraiceramics.com/
	Alan Parris and Billy Byles	Aylesford Pottery	Stoneware studio potters	20	Kent		http://www.aylesfordpottery.co.uk
	Alun Jenkins	Ewenny Pottery	Earthenware potters	50	Wales		ewennypottery.com
	Ana Simmons	Anastasia Simmons Ceramics	Country orientalists	4	Kent		https://anasimmons.wordpress.com
	Andrea Roman	AR Ceramics	Urban minimalists	4	London		https://www.instagram.com/ar.ceramics/
	Andy Priestman		Stoneware studio potters	40	Scotland		http://andypriestman.tumblr.com/
	Arwyn Jones	Arwyn Jones Ceramics	Stoneware studio potters	22	Devon		http://www.arwynjonesceramics.co.uk/
	Bethan Jones	Bethan Jones Slipware at Kigbeare studios	Earthenware potters	6	Devon		http://www.bethanjonesslipware.co.uk/
	Billy Lloyd		Urban minimalists	10	London		http://www.billylloyd.co.uk/
	Brigitte Colleaux	Pots for the table	Country orientalists	2	Devon		http://www.poterie-brigittecolleaux.co.uk
	Caitlin Jenkins	Ewenny Pottery	Earthenware potters	25	Wales	Articles on Ceramic Review	ewennypottery.com http://www.caitlinjenkins.com/tableware.html
	Charlotte Storrs	Charlotte Storrs Stoneware	Production modernists	14	Oxfordshire		http://www.charlottestorrs-stoneware.co.uk/
	Claudia Lis		Urban minimalists	13	Wales		http://artaurea.com/profiles/lis-claudia/ http://www.arts.wales/arts-in-wales/inspire/make/creative-
	Daniel Boyle		Country orientalists	27	Wales		http://www.danielboyleceramics.com
	Darren Ellis	Maze Hill Pottery	Country orientalists	7	London		http://www.darrenellispottery.com/about/ Technician at the Institute of Making
	David Grant	Highland Stoneware	Stoneware studio potters	42	Scotland		http://www.highlandstoneware.com/
	David Rogers	Vinegar Hill Pottery	Stoneware studio potters	20	Hampshire		http://www.vinegarhillpottery.co.uk/
	David Winkley	Vellow Pottery	Stoneware studio potters	54	Somerset	Pottery (1974)	http://www.vellowpottery.co.uk/ http://www.studiopottery.com/cgi-bin/mp.cgi?item=303
	David Worsley	Dove St Pottery	Production modernists	7	Yorkshire		https://thehopefulpotter.wordpress.com/about/ http://www.dovestpottery.co.uk/
	Derek Wilson		Urban minimalists	10	Belfast		http://derekwilsonceramics.com/
	Elliott Denny	Elliott Ceramics	Urban minimalists	4	London		http://www.simple-shape.com/journal/the-maker-interview-elliott-denny-elliott-ceramics

A.1 Practice review: list of practices (2 of 4)

Reference photo	Name	Practice name	Indicative category	Years of practice	Region	Publications	Source
	Emma Lacey	Emma Lacey Engaging Ceramics	Urban minimalists	8	London		http://emmalacey.com/
	Fleen Doran		Country orientalists	6	Gloucestershire		www.fleendoran.com
	Florian Gadsby	Maze Hill Pottery	Urban minimalists	3	London		http://www.floriangadsby.com/
	Gill Thompson		Production modernists	5	Shropshire		http://www.sytchfarmstudios.co.uk/about-gill
	Hannah Bould	Hannah Bould Ceramics	Production modernists	3	London		http://www.hannahbould.com/
	James and Tilla Waters		Production modernists	15	Wales		http://www.jamesandtillawaters.co.uk/
	Jennie Gilbert		Stoneware studio potters	24	Wiltshire		http://www.jenniegilbert.com/
	Jennifer Hall	Jennifer Hall Earthenware	Earthenware potters	20	Wales		https://jenniferhall-earthenware.co.uk/cms/
	Jim Keeling	Whichford Pottery	Country orientalists	40	Warwickshire		https://www.whichfordpottery.com/ http://www.telegraph.co.uk/gardening/3319160/Spinning-my-wheel-of-
	Jo Davies	Jo Davies Ceramics	Production modernists	10	London		http://www.jo-davies.com
	John Hudson		Earthenware potters	50	Durham		http://www.hudsonclaypotter.co.uk/
	John Leach	Muchelney Pottery	Country orientalists	50	Somerset		https://www.johnleachpottery.co.uk/
	Jono Smart	Jono Smart Design	Urban minimalists	2	London		http://www.jonosmart.co.uk/
	Josie Walter	Josie Walter - Decorated Earthenware	Earthenware potters	40	Derbyshire	Pots in the Kitchen (2002) Articles on Ceramic	http://www.josiewalter.co.uk/
	Karen Bunting	Karen Bunting Ceramics	Stoneware studio potters	22	London		http://www.studiopottery.co.uk/profile/Karen/Bunting
	Katherine Winfrey	Katherine Winfrey Earthenware	Earthenware potters	30	Lincolnshire		http://www.katherinewinfrey.co.uk/
	Katrin Moye		Earthenware potters	12	Nottingham		http://www.studiopottery.co.uk/profile/Katrin/Moye http://www.cambridgecrafts.co.uk/katri
	Keiko Hasegawa	Drayford Mill Ceramics	Production modernists	45	Devon		http://www.postcardteas.com/site/product-category/accessories/keiko-hasegawa/
	Ken and Valerie Shelton	Shelton pottery	Earthenware potters	30	Cheshire		http://www.sheltonpottery.co.uk
	Kerry Hastings		Production modernists	15	London		http://www.kerryhastings.com/tableware
	Kyra Cane		Production modernists	30	Nottinghamshire	Making and drawing (2012) Various reviews for	http://www.kyracane.co.uk
	Lars P. Soendergaard Gregersen		Production modernists	22	Suffolk		soendergaarddesign.co.uk

A.1 Practice review: list of practices (3 of 4)

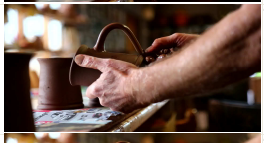
Reference photo	Name	Practice name	Indicative category	Years of practice	Region	Publications	Source
	Laura Crossland	Laura Crosland Ceramics	Stoneware studio potters	5	Kent		http://www.lauracroslandceramics.com
	Linda Bloomfield		Production modernists	20	London	The Handbook of Glaze Recipes (2014) Contemporary	https://lindabloomfield.co.uk/
	Lisa Hammond	Maze Hill Pottery	Country orientalists	40	London	Articles on Ceramic Review	http://www.lisahammond-pottery.co.uk/ http://www.mazehillpottery.co.uk/
	Louisa Taylor		Urban minimalists	11	London	Ceramics: Tools and Techniques for the Contemporary Maker	http://www.louisataylorceramics.com/
	Mark Melbourne	Muchelney Pottery	Country orientalists	25	Somerset		https://www.johnleachpottery.co.uk/
	Marshall Colman	Marshall Colman Ceramics	Earthenware potters	9	St. Albans	Article on Interpreting Ceramics	http://marshallcolman.com
	Mary Chappelhow	Interlude Ceramics	Stoneware studio potters	20	Cumbria	Thrown Pottery Techniques Revealed (2001)	http://www.interludeceramics.com/
	Mary Howard-George	(Staines workshop)	Urban minimalists	7	Surrey		http://www.maryhowardgeorge.co.uk/
	Matt Grimmitt	Winchcombe Pottery	Country orientalists	10	Gloucestershire		https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Winchcombe_Pottery
	Matthew Warner		Urban minimalists	2	London		http://matthewwarner.co.uk/
	Mia Sarosi	Mia Sarosi Ceramics	Production modernists	16	Oxfordshire		http://www.miasarosi.com/
	Michael Taylor	Lone Ash Pottery	Stoneware studio potters	10	Devon		http://michaeltaylorceramics.com/
	Micki Schloessingk	Bridge Pottery	Country orientalists	47	Wales		http://mickischloessingk.co.uk/
	Mike Dodd		Country orientalists	40	Somerset	An Autobiography of Sorts: Mike Dodd (2004)	http://www.mikedoddpottery.com/
	Mizuyo Yamashita		Production modernists	4	London		http://www.mizuyo.com/
	Nick Membery	Kitchen Pottery, also Waun Hir Pottery	Stoneware studio potters	24	Wales		http://www.kitchen-pottery.co.uk/
	Nick Rees	Muchelney Pottery	Country orientalists	40	Somerset		https://www.johnleachpottery.co.uk/
	Nicola Tassie		Urban minimalists	25	London		https://www.facebook.com/NicolaTassieCeramics/ https://www.margarethowell.co.uk/ho
	Nigel Lambert	Golden Valley Cottage	Earthenware potters	30	Gloucestershire		http://www.nigellambertpotter.co.uk/
	Paul Jessop	Barrington Pottery	Earthenware potters	8	Somerset		http://paulthepotter.blogspot.co.uk/ http://barringtonpottery.com/
	Penny Simpson	(the studio)	Earthenware potters	40	Devon	The Japanese Pottery Handbook (1979)	http://pennysimpsonceramics.co.uk/
	Richard Batterham		Country orientalists	55	Dorset		http://www.studiopottery.com/cgi-bin/mp.cgi?item=297

A.1 Practice review: list of practices (4 of 4)

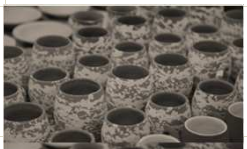
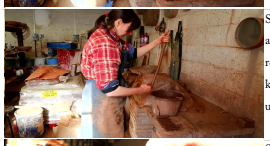
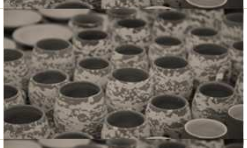
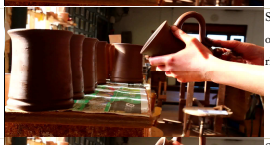
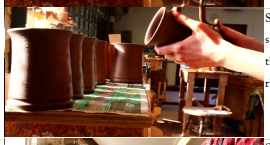
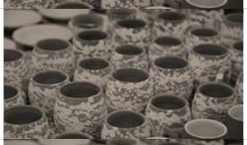
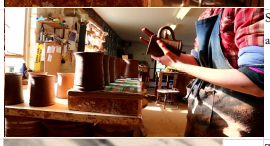
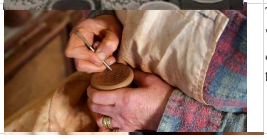
Reference photo	Name	Practice name	Indicative category	Years of practice	Region	Publications	Source
	Robert Goldsmith	Selborne Pottery	Stoneware studio potters	32	Hampshire		http://selbornepottery.co.uk/
	Roelof Uys	Leach Pottery	Country orientalists	30	Cornwall	Article on Ceramics Monthly (Feb 2018)	http://www.leachpottery.com/
	Roger Cockram	Roger Cockram Ceramics	Stoneware studio potters	40	Devon		http://www.rogercockramceramics.co.uk/
	Sabine Nemet	Barn Pottery	Country orientalists	20	Devon		http://sabinenemet.co.uk
	Sean and Vici Casserley	Taena Pottery	Earthenware potters	40	Bristol		http://www.pottersbristol.com/
	Sophie McCarthy	Sophie McCarthy Ceramics	Earthenware potters	30	London		http://www.sophiemaccarthyceramics.co.uk/
	Stuart Carey	Kiln Rooms	Urban minimalists	6	London	Articles on Ceramic Review	http://www.thekilnrooms.com/ www.stuartcarey.co.uk/
	Sue Paraskeva		Stoneware studio potters	22	Isle of Wight		http://sueparaskeva.co.uk/
	Suleyman Saba		Production modernists	25	London		http://www.suleymansaba.com/
	Svend Bayer		Country orientalists	45	Devon		https://svendbayerpottery.wordpress.com/
	Tony Gant	Tony Gant Pottery	Stoneware studio potters	50	London		http://www.davidmellordesign.com/cra http://www.tonygantpottery.com/
	Victoria Claire Dawes		Earthenware potters	4	Sheffield		http://www.victoriaclairedawes.com/

Appendix B

B.1 Extract from Process Matrix - Ewenny (1 of 2)

Process matrix	Ewenny Pottery 2016	General method	Alun Jenkins	
Pulling the stubs		Handles are made out of a lump of clay pulled into a 70cm to 1m long coils. These are held in the left hand and pulled with a wet right hand, with all fingers rubbing and shaping the coils, giving them a round section		He holds a lump of clay in his left hand, wets his right hand and pulls long regular coils from it. He keeps wetting his hand and pulling with the fist in tubular shape, going back and forth and stretching the coil of clay
Cutting the stubs		When the coils reach the right section size they are cut in the right hand and placed on a board, ready to be attached to the cylinders		Once the coil is long, round and regular in section he snaps a stub in his hand with his index and medium and places the stubs on a board by the water bucket, pulling the coils more if required
Attaching at top		The stub is picked up from the board, wetted at one end and stuck onto the cylinders while laying on the table. The stub is firmly pushed into the clay, contrasting the pressure with two fingers inside the mug		He takes a fresh stub straight away, dips the tip in water and pushes the stub on the cylinder without scoring it first. He pushes it with his right hand and keeps the wall in shape with two fingers of his left hand inside
Refining the joint		The top joint is made smooth and regular with the right thumb and fingers. Good care is given to the shape and quality of the joint		He refines the area of the stub around the joint, making sure the stub is firmly attached and the round section is kept throughout. He leaves the short stub hanging horizontally while wetting his right hand before pulling
Pulling the handle		The handle is pulled when the mug is on the table, with horizontal movements of the fingers. This thins and stretches the stub to the desired size		He pulls gently without lifting the mug from the table, thinning the top joint and working on the entire length to keep it even
Defining the profile		The stub is then visually measured and approximately joint at the bottom, temporarily. The left index is used to keep the profile in shape while the right hand attaches the handle to the bottom		He stretches the coil high at 45 degrees towards himself and moves the mug to lean over the edge of the board, then takes the length and pushes the coil to the bottom joint, creating a natural curve
Attaching at bottom		The mug is picked up in the left hand and the joint is checked by looking at the alignment of the handle from the top down.		He picks the mug up in his hand and checks the alignment of the handle before pushing the bottom joint in with his thumb and then pushing the area just above it, which changes the profile of the handle
Finalising the joint		The actual profile of the handle is created when the bottom joint is firmly pressed with the right thumb onto the cylinder		He presses the bottom joint flat onto the cylinder and swipes his thumb left and right to secure the join. He snaps excess clay and refines the joint.
Fettling		They don't sponge the pots after handling. The areas around the joints are cleaned by rubbing with moist fingers		He checks the profile and adjust it with his index pulling out from the inside, if needed. The rubs the areas around the top joint again with his moist index, without wetting it again
Drying		The pots are left to dry for 3-4 days on newspaper on boards again, depending on the weather. Mugs may be covered overnight and left open during the day to check their consistency		The pots are left to dry for 3-4 days on newspaper on boards again, depending on the weather. Mugs may be covered overnight and left open during the day to check their consistency
Signing		Signed 'Ewenny Pottery Wales' mostly by Jane Jenkins using a large iron nail. The pots are harder than leather but not entirely bone dry.		Alun write very occasionally on pots if he has to do it, and he has done it in the past

B.1 Extract from Process Matrix - Ewenny (2 of 2)

Process matrix	Caitlin Jenkins		Jayne Jenkins	
Pulling the stubs		She makes long coils holding the lump of clay in her left hand and pulling with her right, which she regularly dips in water. The coils are shaped to a round section using all fingers, up and down		Task not performed by Jayne
Cutting the stubs		She snaps stubs from the coil using her right index and medium as scissors, and places them on two rows on a wooden bat, on top of each other. She keeps pulling and snapping more until the clay is all used up		Task not performed by Jayne
Attaching at top		She takes one stub, dips the tip in water and presses it on the cylinder, horizontally, without the need to adjust the stub or score the wall		Task not performed by Jayne
Refining the joint		She presses firmly especially around the joint, pressing lightly all around it and then smoothening the joint by rubbing with her thumb around the joint. She leaves the stub hanging while wetting her hand		Task not performed by Jayne
Pulling the handle		She starts to pull from the back and increasingly closer to the cylinder, keeping the end a bit thinner. She holds the mug in place on the board with her left hand and pulls with her right		Task not performed by Jayne
Defining the profile		She holds the shape with her left index and checks the profile and the bottom joint, when the mug is still on the board		Task not performed by Jayne
Attaching at bottom		She lifts the mug in her left hand, presses the clay on the bottom joint and snaps excess clay with her right hand		Task not performed by Jayne
Finalising the joint		She presses down more with her thumb, with the same configuration and then refines the bottom of the joint as a curve. She rubs the joint from left to right with her thumb		Task not performed by Jayne
Fettling		She rubs her moist right index around the top joint, also checking the general shape		Task not performed by Jayne
Drying		The pots are left to dry for 3-4 days on newspaper on boards again, depending on the weather. Mugs may be covered overnight and left open during the day to check their consistency		Task not performed by Jayne
Signing		Caitlin occasionally signs pots and does sgraffito decoration too		This is one of Jayne's main tasks. She signs the pots "Ewenny Pottery Wales" and does the sgraffito decoration when the pots are between leather and bone dry

B.2 Extract from Process Matrix - Leach

Process matrix	Leach Pottery 2016	General method	Roelof Uys	
Centring		Individual methods. Some simply press down, some cone		He presses down with both hands, cones subtly without changing hand configuration and then flattens with the side of his right hand, after wetting the cone
Opening the hole		Individual methods		He opens with his left thumb pressed down by index and medium of the right hand while the other fingers of the left hand keep the shape in place
Opening the cylinder		Individual methods		He opens the cylinder with the same finger configuration and in a single movement, making a low donut
Compressing the base		Individual methods		He compresses with the fingertips of the left hand, pressed down by the right hand which hasn't changed position from previous movements. He goes from centre to edge, then refines the corner and compresses the rim
First pull		Individual methods		Left hand inside, left index on the inside of the rim, locked thumbs, he pulls the wall with the index and medium of his right hand and the left thumb moving together, rim already defined by the compression of the movement on the top
Second pull		Individual methods		Same configuration
Third pull		Individual methods		Same configuration
Other pulls		Individual methods		Similar configuration but now the left thumb is only used to lock the hands, and right index and medium shape the wall
Rim		Rims are made in ways which are specified by Roelof but the actual method varies from potter to potter		After each pull, he shapes the rim with his left index and thumb, supported by both hands
Adjusting the shape		Individual methods		He sponges only inside

B.2 Extract from Process Matrix - Leach (2 of 4)

Process matrix	Kat Wheeler		Britta Wengeler-James	
Centring		She cones 4 times, the lump's base is roughly the size of the mug		She leans forward, presses down with the back of both thumbs, cones lightly a couple of times. The final lump is as high as it is wide. She pushes her right thumb while pressing down with both hands and keeping the lump in shape
Opening the hole		She presses her left thumb with index and medium of the right hand. Learnt from Vince Pitelka at college		She opens the hole with both thumbs at the same time
Opening the cylinder		She pressure her right index and medium towards 4 o'clock with her left thumb, gently		With a separate movement and after wetting the clay, she presses the fingers of her left hand to the right, keeping the cylinder and rim in shape with her right hand
Compressing the base		She first goes from centre to edge with her fingertips, then compresses with the left thumb on her right thumb across to 9 o'clock. She leaves an angle inside, the corner is not squared up		She compresses from the centre by bending the fingertips of her left hand, locked to the right index. Then she makes a characteristic light spiral with the side of her right thumb
First pull		She pulls with her left hand between index and medium inside and thumb outside, the right hand supporting wall and rim. Her little finger helps keep the shape		She squeezes the walls with her left hand, holding the clay with her right hand and compressing with the right thumb
Second pull		Her left medium inside, her left thumb locked on her right hand, index and medium outside, right elbow locked on right thigh. Second pull brings the shape to height		She pushes in with her right index and medium, locked on the left thumb
Third pull		She does a third pull to adjust the shape, same configuration. Then she makes minor localised corrections with the tip of her fingers		Same configuration. She reaches the right height with the third pull
Other pulls		Same configuration. She uses a gentle last pull to adjust the shape		Same configuration. She uses a gentle last pull to adjust the shape
Rim		She rims after each pull, using both hands interlocked. The rim is trapped between her left thumb and index, supported by other fingers.		She rims after each pull, between her left index and thumb, locked to the right hand and squared up with the right index horizontally
Adjusting the shape		She cleans the slurry and adjusts the shape with her personal wooden rib, starting at the top		No need to adjust the shape

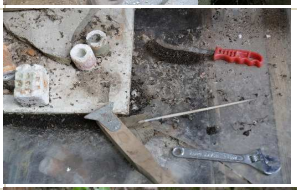
B.2 Extract from Process Matrix - Leach

Process matrix	Laurence Eastwood		Jordan Scott	
Centring		He cones up pressing the clay at the bottom, then presses it down with his thumbs. He cones only once into a cylinder as high as wide		He holds the lump and presses down with thumbs and palms. He cones 4 times, the final lump is lower and wider than a mug
Opening the hole		He pushes his right thumb straight down the middle		He opens with his right index pushed by his left thumb while containing the shape with the rest of his hands
Opening the cylinder		He opens with both thumbs at the same time, holding the clay with his hands		He opens hole and walls in a single movement. His left thumb presses on his right index
Compressing the base		He presses down with his left hand's fingertips, his right thumb pressing on his left hand		His left thumb presses on his right thumb and onto the clay quickly, from the centre, using the side of his thumb. He said his thumb bends and he finds this useful. The inside corner is perpendicular but some clay is left on the edge
First pull		He collars it in and forms a low thick cone		He makes a thick donut first, then squeezes the clay between his right index and thumb, containing the shape with his left hand
Second pull		He presses in with his right index and medium, keeping his left hand inside and left thumb holding the rim from the outside		He pulls with the second knuckle of his right index, his left thumb locked onto clay and right hand. Sometimes he pulls with his fingertips instead
Third pull		Same method: he lifts with the fingertips of his right hand outside, left hand inside, right thumb on his left hand locking the right hand and making it stronger		He pulls with the fingertips of his right hand
Other pulls		Same method but lighter touch. The rings are not very visible. Then he collars it in		He seems to change fingers with each pull. The fourth pull is for collecting clay from the base with his right thumb and spreading it upwards on the cylinder
Rim		He rims after each pull, keeping it quite thin. He compresses with both hands, left index in, left thumb and right fingers out		He rims from the first pull, compressing with his left thumb and the side of his index, pushed by the right hand towards the clay. He compresses with his left hand only
Adjusting the shape		He uses a different bamboo rib which looks like a knife		No need to adjust

B.2 Extract from Process Matrix - Leach (4 of 4)

Process matrix	Callum Trudgeon		Matt Foster	
Centring		He pressed down with left hand, keeps the shape with the right hand. He cones only once, final lump is wider than it is high		He presses down with his left hand, holding the lump with the right. He cones 3 times, pressing down with his left thumb
Opening the hole		He presses his right index with the left thumb to open the clay		He opens with his left thumb pressed down with right index and medium
Opening the cylinder		He opens the clay with the same finger configuration		He opens with the same finger configuration in one movement
Compressing the base		He compresses from the middle with his right hand's fingertips, pressing down with his left thumb. Then he does it again with the tip of both indexes		He compresses with his left hand's fingertips pressed down by his right hand, going from the edge to the centre, back and forth a couple of times
First pull		He holds the clay with his right hand, pulls with the fingers of both hands, compressing the rim with the right thumb		He makes a donut mostly with the left hand, compressing the rim with his right. Then he holds with both hands and pulls between thumb and fingers, and compresses the base again
Second pull		He pulls with index and medium fingers of both hands, locked together using his left thumb		He pulls with the fingertips of his right hand, pushing out the clay with his left medium from inside the cylinder. Then he compresses the base again
Third pull		Same configuration. The third pull brings the shape to height		Same finger configuration
Other pulls		Hands unlocked, he refines the shape with the tip of his right index and thumb, pressing out with the fingertips of the left hand		Same configuration, 6 pulls in total. Height reached on the last pull
Rim		He rims with every pull, compressing with his right thumb while holding the shape on the inside with his left index		He rims after each pull and compresses with his right medium and left index. At the end, he compresses with his left index and thumb
Adjusting the shape		He cleans the outside with his personal plastic rib, from the bottom up		He refines the shape with the fingertips of his right hand, pressing outwards with his left medium. He then sponges the inside and goes on the outside again with a red plastic rib

B.3 Extract from Process Matrix - Maze Hill

Process matrix	Maze Hill Pottery 2016	General method
Firing in reduction		Reduction starts just over 1000 C, when cone 06 goes down and ends at cone 7. The kiln makes no smoke but the reduction is visible by the long flames coming out of spyholes
Preparing soda		At cone 7 they begin to prepare the soda mix. They boil the water in the kitchen, fill the larger stainless steel boiler and mix it with bicarbonate of soda, about 2 full mugs of soda for every bucket of water
Firing with soda		They spray the soda mix through holes at the front and back at the same time, aiming at the roof in the middle of the brick. They do between 10 and 12 cycles, before adding salt. They take tallies of spraying cycles on the kiln book
Adding salt		They add 500g of coarse cooking salt to the mix and load the sprayers
Firing with salt		They do another 2-3 spraying cycles, taking test rings out occasionally to check the built up of glaze in the kiln
Firing to top temperature		They continue to fire it up to cone 12, just below 1300 C. Tests show the built up of soda on the pots and the changing colour of the clay in reduction
Finishing the firing		Late at night, they turn the burners off and crash cool down to 1150 C, then leave the pots cooling slowly inside the sealed kiln. They soak the soda guns in hot water at the end
Opening the kiln		They take the wall down brick by brick and place them in the same configuration next to the kiln, ready for the next firing. A cloth is placed on the pots (in winter) to slow down the cooling
Cleaning the kiln and shelves		Florian cleans the kiln from the soda which accumulates on the roof and may fall on pots. He paints the top of the shelves with white wash
Grinding the pots		Lisa and Florian grind all pots in one day, including Lisa's personal work

B.3 Extract from Process Matrix - Maze Hill

Process matrix	Lisa Hammond	
Firing in reduction		Reduction starts just over 1000 C, when cone 06 goes down and ends at cone 7. The kiln makes no smoke but the reduction is visible by the long flames coming out of spyholes
Preparing soda		At cone 7 they begin to prepare the soda mix. They boil the water in the kitchen, fill the larger stainless steel boiler and mix it with bicarbonate of soda, about 2 full mugs of soda for every bucket of water
Firing with soda		They spray the soda mix through holes at the front and back at the same time, aiming at the roof in the middle of the brick. They do between 10 and 12 cycles, before adding salt. They take tallies of spraying cycles on the kiln book
Adding salt		They add 500g of coarse cooking salt to the mix and load the sprayers
Firing with salt		They do another 2-3 spraying cycles, taking test rings out occasionally to check the built up of glaze in the kiln
Firing to top temperature		They continue to fire it up to cone 12, just below 1300 C. Tests show the built up of soda on the pots and the changing colour of the clay in reduction
Finishing the firing		Late at night, they turn the burners off and crash cool down to 1150 C, then leave the pots cooling slowly inside the sealed kiln. They soak the soda guns in hot water at the end
Opening the kiln		They take the wall down brick by brick and place them in the same configuration next to the kiln, ready for the next firing. A cloth is placed on the pots (in winter) to slow down the cooling
Cleaning the kiln and shelves		*Florian cleans the kiln from the soda which accumulates on the roof and may fall on pots. He paints the top of the shelves with white wash*
Grinding the pots		Lisa and Florian grind all pots in one day, including Lisa's personal work

B.3 Extract from Process Matrix - Maze Hill

Process matrix	Florian Gadsby	
Firing in reduction		Reduction starts just over 1000 C, when cone 06 goes down and ends at cone 7. The kiln makes no smoke but the reduction is visible by the long flames coming out of spyholes
Preparing soda		At cone 7 they begin to prepare the soda mix. They boil the water in the kitchen, fill the larger stainless steel boiler and mix it with bicarbonate of soda, about 2 full mugs of soda for every bucket of water
Firing with soda		They spray the soda mix through holes at the front and back at the same time, aiming at the roof in the middle of the brick. They do between 10 and 12 cycles, before adding salt. They take tallies of spraying cycles on the kiln book
Adding salt		They add 500g of coarse cooking salt to the mix and load the sprayers
Firing with salt		They do another 2-3 spraying cycles, taking test rings out occasionally to check the built up of glaze in the kiln
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Finishing the firing		Late at night, they turn the burners off and crash cool down to 1150 C, then leave the pots cooling slowly inside the sealed kiln. They soak the soda guns in hot water at the end
Opening the kiln		They take the wall down brick by brick and place them in the same configuration next to the kiln, ready for the next firing. A cloth is placed on the pots (in winter) to slow down the cooling
Cleaning the kiln and shelves		Florian cleans the kiln from the soda which accumulates on the roof and may fall on pots. He paints the top of the shelves with white wash
Grinding the pots		Lisa and Florian grind all pots in one day, including Lisa's personal work

Appendix C

C.1 First coding cycle - Qualities across cases

Code	Number of items coded	Code	Number of items coded
Desired shape	23	Clinical	1
Making marks	21	Delicate	1
Appearance	19	Elegant	1
Bad	13	Flow	1
Simple	13	Fragile	1
Not visible	12	Natural	1
Comfortable	8	Reflective	1
Desired size	8	Sensual	1
Thin thick	8	Shiny	1
Good	7	Special	1
Loose	7	Spring	1
Precise	7	Subtle	1
Smooth	7		
Character	6		
Durable	6		
Feels nice	6		
Style	6		
Confident	5		
Forgiving	5		
Heavy light	5		
Well thrown	5		
Colour	3		
No special effect	3		
Soft	3		
Fussy	2		
Interesting	2		
Proportions	2		
Rough	2		
Strong	2		

C.2 First coding cycle - Narratives across cases (1 of 2)

Code	Number of items coded	Code	Number of items coded
Filming*	88	Jack Doherty	21
Personal methods	69	Anecdotes	19
Origin of methods	62	Finances	19
Training	57	Functionality	19
Operational management	54	Influence inspiration	18
Issues	48	Words and names	18
Other potters	48	Getting into it	16
Teaching	48	Destroying pots	14
Design	47	Lifestyle	14
Efficiency	43	Pleasure in work	14
Interviewing*	41	Time	14
Quality control	41	Daily tasks	13
Variation	38	Other work experience	12
Selling	37	Pottery building	12
Personal expression	36	Leach style	10
Level of experience	35	Seconds	10
Change	34	Fixing	9
Personal tools	34	Injury	9
My research*	31	Personality	9
Preventing issues	31	Bernard Leach	8
Awareness	29	Confidence in making	8
Difficult to make	28	Flexibility adaptability	8
Atmosphere in the pottery	26	Habit	8
Personal preference	25	Handmade	8
Practicing	25	Production volume	8
Standard ware	25	Rejects	8
Tradition	25	Salience	8
Way of throwing	24	Comfortable	7
History	23	Control	7
Speed	23	Technical malleability	7
Clay at the right stage	22	Testing	7
Drawings and measurements	22	Japan	6
Education	22	Same family	6

* Codes such as 'filming', 'interviewing' or 'my research' were only used to note references to the presence of the researcher on site (as discussed in Section 7.1.1).

Code	Number of items coded
Serendipity	6
Social media	6
Anatomy	5
Exhibition	5
Experience abroad	5
Touch	5
Attention to detail	4
Craftsmanship	4
Embodied movement	4
Industry	4
Localism	4
Location	4
Making marks	4
Photography	4
Risk	4
Safety	4
Tedious	4
Welsh	4
Attachment	3
Pricing	3
Affordable	2
Creativity	2
East and West	2
Ethos	2
Glass	2
Imitation	2
Physical strength	2
Taste	2
Writing	2
Events	1
Flow	1
Online videos	1
Weather	1

C.3 First coding cycle - Products across cases

Code	Number of items coded
Stoneware\Mug	18
Stoneware\Bowl	16
Stoneware\Jug small	8
Stoneware\Large faceted jars	8
Stoneware\Egg cup	7
Stoneware\Plate	7
Stoneware\Jug large	6
Porcelain	5
Earthenware\Bowl	5
Porcelain\Bowl	5
Stoneware\Espresso cup	5
Porcelain\Mug	3
Porcelain\Shot glass\Sake glass	3
Stoneware\Jam jar	3
Stoneware\Small mug	3
Earthenware	2
Earthenware\Espresso mugs	2
Earthenware\Jug	2
Earthenware\Mug	2
Stoneware\Tile	2
Porcelain\Shot glass	1
Earthenware\Garden pots	1
Earthenware\Salt pig	1
Earthenware\Saucers	1
Earthenware\Teapot	1
Porcelain\Beaker	1
Porcelain\Moon jars	1

C.4 First coding cycle - Processes across cases (1 of 2)

Code	Number of items coded	Code	Number of items coded
Actions\Throwing\Pulling walls	35	Actions\Firing\Glaze firing\Loading	12
Actions\Throwing\Making rim	34	Actions\Handling\Attaching handle	12
Actions\Throwing\Ribbing and adjusting	30	Actions\Throwing\Centring\Pressing down	12
Material\Clay body	30	Actions\Firing\Glaze firing	11
Actions\Drying	27	Actions\Handling\Making stubs	11
Actions\Throwing\Cutting the bevel	26	Actions\Preparing clay\Pugging	11
Tool\Rib	26	Actions\Preparing clay\Wedging	11
Actions\Glazing	25	Actions\Throwing\Adding the line	11
Actions\Cleaning	24	Machinery\Wheel\Bat	11
Actions\Throwing\Cutting wire	24	Actions\Firing\Glaze firing\Firing	10
Material\Glaze	24	Actions\Handling\Fettling	10
Tool\Gauge or pointer	24	Actions\Handling\Scoring	10
Actions\Handling	22	Actions\Slipping	10
Actions\Preparing clay\Weighting	22	Material\Water	10
Actions\Throwing\Opening	21	Tool\Wire	10
Actions\Throwing\Setting up	21	Actions\Preparing clay	9
Tool\Bamboo	20	Actions\Glazing\Dipping	9
Actions\Decorating	19	Actions\Making tools	9
Actions\Firing\Glaze firing\Temperature	19	Actions\Firing\Bisque firing	8
Actions\Turning	19	Actions\Cleaning space	8
Actions\Throwing\Compressing the base	18	Actions\Firing\Bisque firing\Loading	8
Tool\Shammy leather	18	Actions\Packaging	8
Actions\Throwing	17	Actions\Preparing clay\Balling up	8
Actions\Handling\Pulling handle	16	Actions\Throwing\Posture	8
Actions\Signing or stamping	16	Actions\Firing\Glaze firing\Reduction	7
Tool	15	Actions\Glazing\Waxing	7
Tool\Sponge	15	Actions\Throwing\Lifting off	7
Machinery\Wheel\Kickwheel	14	Machinery\Wheel\Pedal	7
Material\Recipes	14	Actions\Preparing clay\Kneading	6
Machinery\Wheel	13	Actions\Glazing\Rimming	6
Actions\Throwing\Centring	13	Actions\Grinding	6
Actions\Throwing\Centring\Coning	13	Actions\Preparing clay\Recycling clay	6
Machinery\Kiln	13	Machinery\Wheel\Seat	6

C.4 First coding cycle - Processes across cases (2 of 2)

Code	Number of items coded
Machinery\Wheel\Wheel head	6
Material\Slip	6
Tool\Calipers	6
Actions\Firing	5
Actions\Glazing\Preparing glaze	5
Actions\Handling\Check & prep	5
Actions\Throwing\Collaring	5
Actions\Throwing\Placing on boards	5
Actions\Throwing\Throwing the ball	5
Machinery	4
Actions\Carrying boards	4
Actions\Faceting	4
Actions\Glazing\Washing	4
Actions\Preparing clay\Kneading\Spiral	4
Actions\Storing	4
Machinery\Pugmill	4
Machinery\Scales	4
Tool\Cones	4
Actions\Adding a spout	3
Actions\Firing\Bisque firing\Firing	3
Actions\Firing\Glaze firing\Preparation for firing	3
Actions\Firing\Glaze firing\Raw firing	3
Actions\Glazing\Retouching	3
Actions\Glazing\Splashing	3
Actions\Glazing\Wiping	3
Actions\Preparing clay\Kneading\Ram's	3
Machinery\Wheel\Chuck	3
Machinery\Wheel\Hump	3
Tool\Brush	3
Tool\Fingers and nails	3
Tool\Mirror	3
Tool\Roulettes	3
Actions\Firing\Glaze firing\Building door	2
Actions\Firing\Glaze firing\Unloading	2
Actions\Handling\Adding the line	2
Actions\Throwing\Hand	2
Actions\Throwing\Ridge	2
Actions\Throwing\Sponging	2
Material\Wadding	2
Tool\Comb	2
Tool\Hydrometer	2
Tool\Pyrometer	2
Tool\Ruler	2
Tool\Turning tool	2
Tool\Water bucket	2
Material	1
Actions\Firing\Bisque firing\Unloading	1
Machinery\Dampers	1
Machinery\Kiln stilts	1
Material\Alumina	1
Tool\Kidney	1
Tool\Rounding cone	1
Tool\Slip trailer	1
Tool\Towel	1

Appendix D

D.1 Operational sequence - Ewenny Pottery (1 of 20)

Operation	1. Recycling clay	2. Pugging	3. Wedging (Benching)
Illustration			
Description	They recycle the clay in buckets and generally mix 1/4 with 3/4 of bagged clay. They do not dry it on bats but can let it dry on the table and pick the clay at the right consistency as required by the bagged clay	Recycled and bagged clay is pugged into large coils. Both Alun and Caitlin operate the pugmil, no preference	Caitlin benches as well but does not lift the clay above her head as Alun does, she developed a lower turn which is as effective but requires less strength
Duration per mug (s)	10	10	11
Duration (info)	10	10	10 kg in 3.5 minutes
Duration (source)	estimate	estimate	video
Timeframe	batch	batch	batch
Activity	active	active	active
Action on materials	preparing	preparing	preparing
Contact	hand	machine	hand, tool
Tools	bucket	cutting wire	cutting wire
Machinery		pugmill	
State of materials	soft plastic	soft plastic	soft plastic
Role	preparation	preparation	preparation
Feature affected	body	body	body
Complexity	Low	Low	Medium
Origin of methods	Standard method, also employed by predecessors	Standard method, also employed by predecessors	Previous generations of Ewenny potters
Variation	Low	Low	Medium
Variation	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Caitlin has adapted Alun's method to make it work for her, she does not rotate the clay in the air
Division of labour	Low	Low	High
Division of labour	Operation performed by either Alun or Caitlin	Operation performed by either Alun or Caitlin	Alun tends to wedge clay if necessary, Caitlin can do it but she avoids doing it
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low
Manufacturing salience	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Standard method not likely to change over time	Relatively simple operation largely dictated by the correct use of the machinery	Operation embodied in Alun's approach and motor skills, not likely to change
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Low	Low	Medium
Technological style	Relatively standard process not indicative of personal narratives	Relatively standard process not indicative of personal narratives	Original method Alun learned in the old workshop and continues to perform in similar ways. Caitlin uses a revised method which works better for her
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	High
Workshop's approach	The recycling is a standard method but their approach shows confidence in the composition of the clay. They follow a straightforward approach which relies on the potters' knowledge of the desired consistency and how to obtain it	The old pugmill was too large for Alun so he purchased a smaller pug which he has being using since. The direct method is typical of production and country pottery but the volume is closer to that of a studio pottery	The use of the word 'benching' shows the direct training the potters received by their predecessors, the method is indicative of the old workshop's approach
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	High

D.1 Operational Sequence - Ewenny Pottery (2 of 20)

Operation	4. Weighing	5. Balling up	6. Fixing the hump on the wheel-head
Illustration			
Description	They use old scales, imperial weights and measurements. Each pot type has a specific weight and some have a 'bit' as well, which is about 33g to be subtracted. Each mug cylinder is made out of ca. 420g of clay	She makes approximate balls of clay of the right weight by pinching the coils made with the pugmill. Her method is remarkably similar to Alun's	This operation is normally performed by Alun and Caitlin does other tasks instead
Duration per mug (s)	7	8	4
Duration (info)	7	8	4.35
Duration (source)	video	video	video
Timeframe	running	running	batch
Activity	active	active	n/a
Action on materials	preparing	preparing	n/a
Contact	hand, tool	hand	n/a
Tools	cutting wire		hump, calipers
Machinery	scales		wheel
State of materials	soft plastic	soft plastic	n/a
Role	preparation	preparation	n/a
Feature affected	body	body	n/a
Complexity	Medium	Medium	High
Origin of methods	Previous generations of Ewenny potters	Previous generations of Ewenny potters	Adapted from methods previously employed at Ewenny
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Standard method used each time by Alun
Division of labour	Low	Low	High
Division of labour	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel	Alun fixes the hump but Caitlin could also do it if necessary
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low
Manufacturing salience	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Operation learned from previous generations and performed in similar ways	Operation learned from previous generations and performed in similar ways	Operation learned from previous generations and performed in similar ways
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Low	Low	Low
Technological style	Alun and Caitlin adhere to previous methods faithfully, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin adhere to previous methods faithfully, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Caitlin prefers to leave this tasks to Alun, but otherwise performs it in similar ways
Workshop's approach	High	Medium	High
Workshop's approach	They continue to use imperial measurements and old mass weights, in line with family tradition. A 'bit' is used to correct inaccurate scales, in ways that are indicative of a country pottery approach	Straightforward method derived from production approaches to making and knowledge of materials. Continuity with old Ewenny	Methods derived from the making of larger pots in the old workshop and indicative of their country pottery origin and specific Ewenny method. When they could not find a metal one they made a terracotta one
Cultural salience	High	Medium	High

Operation	7. Laying newspaper on boards	8. Using a gauge	9. Throwing the ball
Illustration			
Description	Before throwing new pots the boards are covered with new sheets of recycled newspaper. The sheets placed on the board and cut and spread along the length	After making the first mug she measures it to make sure it's correct, takes the stick and places it in the middle of the lump of clay, firmly fixed	She throws the ball of clay onto the wheel, already spinning
Duration per mug (s)	1	5	2
Duration (info)	20 s per board	5	2
Duration (source)	estimate	estimate	video
Timeframe	batch	batch	running
Activity	n/a	n/a	active
Action on materials	n/a	n/a	preparing
Contact	n/a	n/a	hand
Tools	boards, newspaper	stick	
Machinery		wheel	wheel
State of materials	n/a	n/a	soft plastic
Role	n/a	n/a	preparation
Feature affected	n/a	n/a	body
Complexity	Low	Medium	Low
Origin of methods	Previous generations of Ewenny potters	Previous generations of Ewenny potters	Personal response to workshop's methods
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel
Manufacturing salience	Low	Medium	Low
Manufacturing salience	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	The gauge encourages consistency in the making and final results. The effect is not directly noticeable in individual mugs, but across products	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Operation learned from previous generations and performed in similar ways	Operation learned from previous generations and performed in similar ways	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Low	Low	Low
Technological style	Alun and Caitlin adhere to previous methods faithfully, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin adhere to previous methods faithfully, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin adhere to previous methods faithfully, no additional personal narratives are recorded
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	Medium
Workshop's approach	Relatively common method but originated in previous generations at Ewenny. It is linked to the need to move small pots around quickly, without having to wait for them to dry more, as the mugs are handled when less than leather hard	Relatively common method but originated in previous generations at Ewenny. They use a willow stick taken from the garden. Another straightforward tool made by the potters	Relatively common method but originated in previous generations at Ewenny. It is linked to 'quick process' and motor habits built over the years
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Medium

D.1 Operational Sequence - Ewenny

Operation	10. Centring	11. Opening the hole	12. Opening the cylinder
Illustration			
Description	She presses the sides forming a low cone and then pushes back down, her thumbs interlocked. She holds the clay with both hands	She wets the clay and presses down with both thumbs	She opens with both thumbs, symmetrically
Duration per mug (s)	11	5	5
Duration (info)	11	5	5
Duration (source)	video	video	video
Timeframe	running	running	running
Activity	active	active	active
Action on materials	preparing	forming	forming
Contact	hand	hand	hand
Tools			
Machinery	wheel	wheel	wheel
State of materials	soft plastic	soft plastic	soft plastic
Role	preparation	preparation	preparation
Feature affected	body	shape	shape
Complexity	High	Medium	Medium
Origin of methods	Personal response to workshop's methods	Personal response to workshop's methods	Personal response to workshop's methods
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low
Manufacturing salience	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Medium	Low	Low
Technological style	Alun and Caitlin adhere to previous methods faithfully, no additional personal narratives are recorded. Minor differences due to preference	Alun and Caitlin adhere to previous methods faithfully, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin adhere to previous methods faithfully, no additional personal narratives are recorded
Workshop's approach	High	High	High
Workshop's approach	Centring without coning is indicative of production or country pottery and relatively rare in studio pottery. The method show direct links with previous generations, strightforward approach and great skill	Unfussy, straightforward method based on long-lasting training in strict conditions. Same as those visible in films of old country pottery	Not a separate movement, simply continuing the opening of the hole. Straightforward approach derived from the old Ewenny potters
Cultural salience	High	High	High

Operation	13. Compressing the base	14. First pull	15. Second pull
Illustration			
Description	She presses down with the flesh of her right thumb from the edge to the middle, only once	She wets the clay and pulls between the thumb and the forefingers of the right hand, holding the cylinder in place with the left hand and compressing the rim with the flesh between left thumb and index	She wets again, pulls with the first knuckle of her right hand in vertical position, the two thumbs touching. The left fingers inside the cylinder press outwards against he right knuckle outside, reaching height
Duration per mug (s)	3	11	9
Duration (info)	3	11	9
Duration (source)	video	video	video
Timeframe	running	running	running
Activity	active	active	active
Action on materials	forming	forming	forming
Contact	hand	hand	hand
Tools			
Machinery	wheel	wheel	wheel
State of materials	soft plastic	soft plastic	soft plastic
Role	generation	preparation	preparation
Feature affected	body and surface	shape	shape
Complexity	Medium	High	Medium
Origin of methods	Personal response to workshop's methods	Personal response to workshop's methods	Personal response to workshop's methods
Variation	Low	Medium	Low
Variation	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Basically the same method but performed using a different grip	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel
Manufacturing salience	Medium	Low	Low
Manufacturing salience	It affects the surface of the floor but this is flat and not a prominent feature of the design, and is finalised by sponging later on	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Medium	Medium	Medium
Technological style	Caitlin does is slightly differently from Alun, they believe it's a personal preference but the method is essentially the same	Different grip but fundamentally the same method, resulting in identical shapes and taking the same time	Alun and Caitlin adhere to previous methods faithfully, no additional personal narratives are recorded
Workshop's approach	Medium	Low	Medium
Workshop's approach	Caitlin remembers he grandfather compressing the way Alun does it. Linked to previous generations and straightforward approach	Some variation shows personal interpretation of standard methods of pulling the first time	Very similar methods, appear synchronised in the video, indicative of a strict training regime in the family workshop
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Medium

D.1 Operational Sequence - Ewenny

Operation	16. Rim	17. Third pull	18. Undercut
Illustration			
Description	She presses the rim at the end of the second pull, the clay squeezed between the fingertips of the two hands. She presses down with the right medium finger	She wets the clay and does a final light pull using the same configuration, widening the cylinder and thinning the walls	She cleans the slurry around the base and makes a light undercut with the corner of a rectangular metal rib
Duration per mug (s)	2	13	14
Duration (info)	2	13	14
Duration (source)	video	video	video
Timeframe	running	running	running
Activity	active	active	active
Action on materials	forming	forming	carving
Contact	hand	hand	tool
Tools			metal rib
Machinery	wheel	wheel	wheel
State of materials	soft plastic	soft plastic	soft plastic
Role	preparation	generation	generation
Feature affected	shape	shape and surface	shape and surface
Complexity	Medium	Medium	Medium
Origin of methods	Personal response to workshop's methods	Personal response to workshop's methods	Personal response to workshop's methods
Variation	Low	High	Low
Variation	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Caitlin continues to pull the wall whilst Alun starts to rib	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways, using the same tool
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel
Manufacturing salience	Medium	High	Low
Manufacturing salience	The profile of the rim is shaped at this stage, but only finalised by sponging later on	The shape and some surface qualities of the cylinder are defined at this stage, especially the throwing marks on the inside	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Medium	Medium	Medium
Technological style	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun is keep to keep the method as economical as possible and only pulls twice. Caitlin pulls more but uses the rib a bit less. It could be personal preference	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	High
Workshop's approach	Very similar methods, appear synchronised in the video, indicative of a strict training regime in the family workshop	General methods indicative of production and country pottery approaches. Differences due to personal interpretations, not linked to any other narratives	The operations are perfomed in identical ways, showing their close training. The potters share the rib and use it directly to do both the undercut and the ribbing of the walls
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	High

Operation	19. Cleaning the wall	20. Making the foot	21. Sponging inside
Illustration			
Description	She cleans the wall with the side of the same rib, with a light touch, pressing out from the inside with the left hand just to remove the slurry. She does not shape the cylinder against the rib as much as Alun	She smoothens the bevel with her little finger, upside down, then turns it and presses it a bit higher onto the base to create the round ridge of the foot. She smoothens that again with the tip of her little finger	She sponges the inside with her right hand only, ending on the rim. She holds the sponge with fingers of the right hand and can fit her hand inside the cylinder
Duration per mug (s)	7	8	15
Duration (info)	7	8	15
Duration (source)	video	video	video
Timeframe	running	running	running
Activity	active	active	active
Action on materials	cleaning	forming	cleaning
Contact	tool	hand	tool
Tools	metal rib		sponge
Machinery	wheel	wheel	wheel
State of materials	soft plastic	soft plastic	soft plastic
Role	generation	generation	generation
Feature affected	shape and surface	shape	surface
Complexity	High	High	Low
Origin of methods	Personal response to workshop's methods	Personal response to workshop's methods	Personal response to workshop's methods and technical requirements of thin glaze
Variation	High	Medium	Low
Variation	Caitlin continues to pull the wall whilst Alun starts to rib. She will rib a bit more lightly	Method largely the same but final shape slightly different	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways, using the same tool
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel
Manufacturing salience	Medium	High	Medium
Manufacturing salience	Ribbing is key to ensuring the walls of the mug are regular and smooth, but exact methods are not identifiable in the ware	Key design element almost entirely shaped at this stage	Sponging thoroughly is required to make the glaze adhere to the clay. It is partly responsible for the smoothness of the glaze application
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits	Technique part of the Ewenny repertoire and unlikely to change in the future	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits
Social context	Medium	High	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Process, shape and quality of the foot are visible in the workshop and the pieces	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Medium	Medium	Medium
Technological style	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	No personal narratives linked to this operation but some personal expression is shown in identifiable shapes	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded
Workshop's approach	High	Medium	High
Workshop's approach	The operations are perfomed in identical ways, showing their close training. The potters share the rib and use it directly to do both the undercut and the ribbing of the walls	The way the potters make the foot is surprisingly similar, indicating the close environment in which they were trained	Sponging is another way to produce a polished finish which is characteristic of this type of pottery. Their methods are very close, indicating the importance of this operation in the production
Cultural salience	High	Medium	High

D.1 Operational Sequence - Ewenny

Operation	22. Finishing the rim	23. Sponging rim and outside	24. Cutting
Illustration			
Description	She compresses the rim and adjusts the shape with the right index and holding it with the left hand, also making small pulls on the rim and opening the flare	She sponges the rim again, then the base and the sides, as required	She stops the wheel and cuts the mug from the hump with a clear wire, pressing down and pushing away from herself in a straight line. She throws the wire to the side of the wheel
Duration per mug (s)	14	11	11
Duration (info)	14	11	11
Duration (source)	video	video	video
Timeframe	running	running	running
Activity	active	active	active
Action on materials	forming	cleaning	cutting
Contact	hand, tool	tool	tool
Tools	sponge	sponge	cutting wire
Machinery	wheel	wheel	wheel
State of materials	soft plastic	soft plastic	soft plastic
Role	generation	generation	generation
Feature affected	shape and surface	surface	shape and surface
Complexity	High	Low	Low
Origin of methods	Evolution of previous designs and qualities, introduced by Alun	Personal response to workshop's methods and technical requirements of thin glaze	Previous generations of Ewenny potters
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways, using the same tool
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel
Manufacturing salience	High	High	Medium
Manufacturing salience	Final quality of the rim depends on this operation	Sponging thoroughly is required to make the glaze adhere to the clay and the profile of the rim is finalised with the sponge	The base is left unturned so the cut is visible, but it is later cleaned with a knife
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Low	Medium	Low
Technological style	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded
Workshop's approach	High	High	Medium
Workshop's approach	The shape of the rim was developed by Alun, who refined previous design to make it more comfortable and functional, in line with changing market conditions	The smoothness of the rim and outside walls of the mug can be seen as a response to a refinement brought by industrial ware and the need to compete against it by producing equally polished pieces	The simple cut in combination with a press foot avoid the need for turning the mugs, in line with country pottery traditions
Cultural salience	High	High	Medium

Operation	25. Cleaning hands	26. Lifting	27. Placing on boards
Illustration			
Description	She scrapes her hands on the round edge of the splashpan, moves the slurry away along the edge with her fingers and wipes on her apron quickly	She lifts the mug gently but firmly between her fingers, starting from the back and moving it onto a board on her left side, covered with newspaper	They split newspaper sheets in half using the edge of the boards and they fit perfectly. They use four half sheets per board, partly overlapping. She moves the cylinder onto a board covered with newspaper
Duration per mug (s)	3	5	2
Duration (info)	3	5	2
Duration (source)	video	video	video
Timeframe	running	running	running
Activity	n/a	active	active
Action on materials	n/a	n/a	n/a
Contact	n/a	hand	hand
Tools			boards
Machinery	wheel	wheel	
State of materials	soft plastic	soft plastic	soft plastic
Role	n/a	preservation	preservation
Feature affected	n/a	n/a	n/a
Complexity	Medium	Low	Low
Origin of methods	Personal response to workshop's methods	Standard method, also employed by predecessors	Standard method, also employed by predecessors
Variation	Medium	Low	Low
Variation	Both have very specific but personal ways of cleaning their hands	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways, using the same tool	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways, using the same tool
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a thrower's session on the wheel
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low
Manufacturing salience	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits	Approach to throwing learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Low	Low	Low
Technological style	Variation indicative of personal preference more than any additional narratives	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	Medium
Workshop's approach	The potters follow the same movements each time they scrape their hands from excess clay. This replaces the use of a towel or water, which would require further actions and equipment	Lifting is linked to straightforward methods and efficiency of country pottery making at Ewenny	The use of newspaper is a link to previous methods used at Ewenny
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Medium

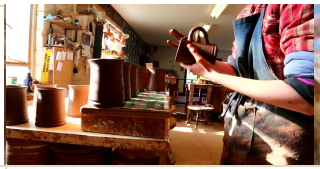
D.1 Operational Sequence - Ewenny

Operation	28. Drying	29. Pulling the stubs	30. Cutting the stubs
Illustration			
Description	Green ware is placed on boards on newspaper and left to dry for at least a day on a rack in the middle of the workshop. The boards are all the same size	She makes long coils holding the lump of clay in her left hand and pulling with her right, which she regularly dips in water. The coils are shaped to a round section using all fingers, up and down	She snaps stubs from the coil using her right index and medium as scissors, and places them on two rows on a wooden bat, on top of each other. She keeps pulling and snapping more until the clay is all used up
Duration per mug (s)	86400	8	5
Duration (info)	1 day	6 in 45 seconds	6 in 27 seconds
Duration (source)	interview	video	video
Timeframe	batch	running	running
Activity	passive	active	active
Action on materials	n/a	preparing	cutting
Contact	n/a	hand	hand
Tools	boards, racks		
Machinery			
State of materials	hard plastic	soft plastic	soft plastic
Role	preservation	generation	generation
Feature affected	body, shape and surface	shape	shape
Complexity	Low	High	Medium
Origin of methods	Standard method, also employed by predecessors	Previous generations of Ewenny potters	Previous generations of Ewenny potters
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways, using the same tool	Handling methods very consistent between the two potters	Handling methods very consistent between the two potters
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Simple operation supervised by all three potters	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a handling session	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a handling session
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low
Manufacturing salience	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Standard method not likely to change over time	Method of handling learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits	Method of handling learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Low	Low	Low
Technological style	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded
Workshop's approach	Medium	High	High
Workshop's approach	Very direct and straightforward method which originated in the old workshop. Newspaper allows them to work on mugs before they get leather hard	The round section is indicative of old Ewenny pottery . The potters make a long coil with very little water, showing the level of skills they possess and their efficiency and consistency in the production	Method linked to efficiency of production and straightforward approach which relies on proficient skills. They use the same fingers, indicating the close training environment
Cultural salience	Medium	High	High

Operation	31. Attaching at top	32. Refining the joint	33. Pulling the handle
Illustration			
Description	She takes one stub, dips the tip in water and presses it on the cylinder, horizontally, without the need to adjust the stub or score the wall	She presses firmly especially around the joint, pressing lightly all around it and then smoothening the joint by rubbing with her thumb around the joint. She leaves the stub hanging while wetting her hand	She starts to pull from the back and increasingly closer to the cylinder, keeping the end a bit thinner. She holds the mug in place on the board with her left hand and pulls with her right
Duration per mug (s)	6	10	22
Duration (info)	6	10	22
Duration (source)	video	video	video
Timeframe	running	running	running
Activity	active	active	active
Action on materials	forming	forming	forming
Contact	hand	hand	hand
Tools			
Machinery			
State of materials	soft plastic	soft plastic	soft plastic
Role	generation	generation	generation
Feature affected	shape	shape	shape
Complexity	Medium	Medium	High
Origin of methods	Evolution of previous designs and qualities, introduced by Alun	Evolution of previous designs and qualities, introduced by Alun	Evolution of previous designs and qualities, introduced by Alun
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Handling methods very consistent between the two potters	Handling methods very consistent between the two potters	Handling methods very consistent between the two potters
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a handling session	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a handling session	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a handling session
Manufacturing salience	High	Medium	High
Manufacturing salience	New method introduced by Alun to make joint look stronger, it contributes to the proficient appearance of the mug	Standard operation which finalises shapes and profiles	The quality, section and profile of the handles are defined at this stage
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Method of handling learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits	Method of handling learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits	Method of handling learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Low	Low	Low
Technological style	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded
Workshop's approach	High	Low	High
Workshop's approach	Method linked to efficiency of production and straightforward approach which relies on proficient skills. Alun improved the way the handles are attached to avoid a soft spot noticeable in old Ewenny ware	Standard method not linked to narratives	The round section is indicative of old Ewenny pottery . The potters show their level of skills, and their efficiency and consistency in the production
Cultural salience	High	Low	High

D.1 Operational Sequence - Ewenny (12 of 20)

Operation	34. Defining the profile	35. Attaching at bottom	36. Finalising the joint
Illustration			
Description	She holds the shape with her left index and checks the profile and the bottom joint, when the mug is still on the board	She lifts the mug in her left hand, presses the clay on the bottom joint and snaps excess clay with her right hand	She presses down more with her thumb, with the same configuration and then refines the bottom of the joint as a curve. She rubs the joint from left to right with her thumb
Duration per mug (s)	5	3	10
Duration (info)	5	3	10
Duration (source)	video	video	video
Timeframe	running	running	running
Activity	active	active	active
Action on materials	forming	forming	forming
Contact	hand	hand	hand
Tools			
Machinery			
State of materials	soft plastic	soft plastic	soft plastic
Role	generation	generation	generation
Feature affected	shape	shape	shape and surface
Complexity	High	Medium	High
Origin of methods	Evolution of previous designs and qualities, introduced by Alun	Evolution of previous designs and qualities, introduced by Alun	Evolution of previous designs and qualities, introduced by Alun
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Handling methods very consistent between the two potters	Handling methods very consistent between the two potters	Handling methods very consistent between the two potters
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a handling session	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a handling session	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a handling session
Manufacturing salience	High	High	High
Manufacturing salience	The quality, section and profile of the handles are defined at this stage	The quality, section and profile of the handles are defined at this stage	The quality, section and profile of the handles are defined at this stage
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Method of handling learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits	Method of handling learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits	Method of handling learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Low	Low	Low
Technological style	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded
Workshop's approach	High	Low	Medium
Workshop's approach	Alun changed the handles at Ewenny. The profile is different, more functional and consistent. This shows his technical improvement of Ewenny pottery on many levels, and search for a strong durable design which could compete in the market	Standard method not linked to narratives	Very direct and straightforward method which shows their approach to making.
Cultural salience	High	Low	Medium

Operation	37. Fettling	38. Drying	39. Signing
Illustration			
Description	She rubs her moist right index around the top joint, also checking the general shape	The pots are left to dry for 3-4 days on newspaper on boards again, depending on the weather. Mugs may be covered overnight and left open during the day to check their consistency	Jayne uses a large nail to incise "Ewenny Pottery Wales" on the base. Caitlin occasionally signs pots and does sgraffito decoration too
Duration per mug (s)	10	259200	12
Duration (info)	10	3 days	2 in 24 seconds
Duration (source)	video	interview	video
Timeframe	running	batch	running
Activity	active	passive	active
Action on materials	forming	n/a	marking
Contact	hand	n/a	tool
Tools		boards, racks	carpenter's nail
Machinery			
State of materials	soft plastic	hard plastic	hard fragile
Role	generation	preservation	generation
Feature affected	surface	body, shape and surface	surface
Complexity	Low	Low	High
Origin of methods	Evolution of previous designs and qualities, introduced by Alun	Standard method, also employed by predecessors	Previous generations of Ewenny potters
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Handling methods very consistent between the two potters	Handling methods very consistent between the two potters	Caitlin and Jayne have a similar calligraphy and use the same nail
Division of labour	Low	Low	High
Division of labour	Operation performed by Alun or Caitlin, as part of a handling session	Simple operation supervised by all three potters	Jayne signs most pots, Caitlin also does it occasionally but Alun tends not to
Manufacturing salience	Medium	Low	High
Manufacturing salience	This final check ensures all qualities and design specs are met	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	Jayne's distinctive cursive handwriting is a key feature of the design, even if hidden on the base
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Method of handling learned from previous generations and now embodied in motor habits	Standardmethod not likely to change over time	Technique part of the Ewenny repertoire and unlikely to change in the future
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Medium	Low	Medium
Technological style	Alun uses less water at this stage, his method seems to be even more efficient than Caitlin's but actually it takes him a bit longer to handle	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	The nail was already in use at Ewenny by their predecessors. Jayne does not mind this operation as she wants to help whilst avoiding clay at the soft plastic stage
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	High
Workshop's approach	Only minor adjustments are generally required at this stage, showing the pragmatic approach of the potters and their proficient skills. The very scarce use of water is also indicative or a straightforward approach developed in harder working conditions	Very direct and straightforward method which originated in the old workshop. Newspaper allows them to work on mugs before they get leather hard	The signature is a direct reference to ols writing and signatures on Ewenny pottery, adapted with the addition of 'Wales" in 1992 to specify the country of origin according to European law
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	High

D.1 Operational Sequence - Ewenny

Operation	40. Cleaning	41. Placing on boards	42. Drying
Illustration			
Description	Jayne uses a butter knife to remove any imperfections from the surface and smoothen it. Caitlin occasionally cleans the pots as well	Jayne works on each pot and places it back on the board	The pots are left to dry on the racks in the middle of the workshop
Duration per mug (s)	18	2	259200
Duration (info)	2 in 1 minute	2	3 days
Duration (source)	video (estimate from jugs)	video (estimate from jugs)	interview
Timeframe	running	running	batch
Activity	active	active	passive
Action on materials	cleaning	moving	n/a
Contact	tool	hand	n/a
Tools	metal knife	boards, racks	boards, racks
Machinery			
State of materials	hard fragile	hard fragile	hard fragile
Role	preservation	preservation	preservation
Feature affected	surface	body, shape and surface	body, shape and surface
Complexity	Medium	Low	Low
Origin of methods	Personal response to workshop's methods and technical requirements of thin glaze, developed by Jayne	Standard method, also employed by predecessors	Standard method, also employed by predecessors
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Jayne is mostly in charge of this operation	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Handling methods very consistent between the two potters
Division of labour	High	High	Low
Division of labour	Jayne tends to clean all the pots, occasionally Caitlin does it	Jayne tends to clean all the pots, occasionally Caitlin does it	Simple operation supervised by all three potters
Manufacturing salience	Medium	Low	Low
Manufacturing salience	The effect of cleaning is visible on the surface of the base, but not a prominent feature in the design	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Technique part of the Ewenny repertoire and unlikely to change in the future	Standardmethod not likely to change over time	Standardmethod not likely to change over time
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Low	Low	Low
Technological style	Standard method not linked to narratives	Standard method not linked to narratives	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded
Workshop's approach	Medium	Low	Low
Workshop's approach	Cleaning contributes to produce a polished finish which is characteristic of this type of pottery	Standard method not linked to narratives	Standard method not linked to narratives
Cultural salience	Medium	Low	Low

Operation	43. Packing the bisque kiln	44. Bisque firing	45. Emptying the bisque kiln
Illustration			
Description	She pack the kiln tightly and economically, in the same way	Electric kiln, bisque at 1000 C. Some hot and cool spots which may affect the colour of the bisque clay but never to reject pots as under or over fired	She grabs pots from the kiln and groups them roughly by type on the glazing table
Duration per mug (s)	10	115200	3
Duration (info)	2 in 20 seconds	8 hours + day cooling	6 in 20 seconds
Duration (source)	video	interview	video
Timeframe	batch	batch	batch
Activity	active	passive	active
Action on materials	moving	n/a	moving
Contact	hand	n/a	hand
Tools	kiln furniture		
Machinery	kiln	kiln	kiln
State of materials	hard fragile	solid	solid
Role	preparation	generation	preservation
Feature affected	n/a	body and surface	n/a
Complexity	Medium	Medium	Low
Origin of methods	Standard method, also employed by predecessors	Standard method, also employed by predecessors	Standard method, also employed by predecessors
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Operation performed mostly by Caitlin or Alun, as part of a firing session	Operation performed mostly by Caitlin or Alun, as part of a firing session	Operation performed mostly by Caitlin or Alun, as part of a firing session
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low
Manufacturing salience	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Standardmethod not likely to change over time	Standardmethod not likely to change over time	Standardmethod not likely to change over time
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Low	Low	Low
Technological style	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	Low
Workshop's approach	Electric firing was adopted by Alun's father to finish the pots, bisqued in the coal kiln. Its use is linked to practicalities in achieving consistent results in economic ways, offering a more consistent product to a changing audience	Electric firing was adopted by Alun's father to finish the pots, bisqued in the coal kiln. Its use is linked to practicalities in achieving consistent results in economic ways, offering a more consistent product to a changing audience	Standard method not linked to narratives
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Low

Operation	46. Cleaning	47. Dipping the body in glaze	48. Cleaning
Illustration			
Description	She wipes dry each bisqued pot from the kiln using an old glove, and checks each pot before glazing	She dips a batch of mugs holding it from the handles, with the opening away from her	She cleans the glaze off the base with a finger immediately after dipping, removing most of it when still liquid
Duration per mug (s)	15	10	3
Duration (info)	15	10	3
Duration (source)	estimate based on video of plates	estimate	video
Timeframe	running	running	running
Activity	active	active	active
Action on materials	cleaning	layering	cleaning
Contact	tool	hand	hand
Tools	old glove		
Machinery			
State of materials	solid	liquid	liquid
Role	preservation	generation	generation
Feature affected	surface	surface	surface
Complexity	Low	Medium	Low
Origin of methods	Standard method, also employed by predecessors	Evolution of previous designs and qualities, introduced by Alun	Evolution of previous designs and qualities, introduced by Alun
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Operation performed by either Alun or Caitlin, as part of a glazing session	Operation performed by either Alun or Caitlin, as part of a glazing session	Operation performed by either Alun or Caitlin, as part of a glazing session
Manufacturing salience	Low	Medium	Low
Manufacturing salience	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	Operation produces surface qualities but the method followed is straightforward	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Technique part of the Ewenny repertoire and unlikely to change in the future	Technique part of the Ewenny repertoire and unlikely to change in the future	Technique part of the Ewenny repertoire and unlikely to change in the future
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Low	Low	Low
Technological style	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	Medium
Workshop's approach	The potters are fond of using an old glove for this task, which has the right roughness	The potters never tried to glaze in different ways, e.g. by dipping the mugs with thongs and waxing the bottom. They accepted the previous methods and follow them closely	Direct approach using a finger to wipe off the excess glaze and avoid spending longer to sponge it off later
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Medium

Operation	49. Dipping the handle in glaze	50. Splash glazing	51. Cleaning
Illustration			
Description	She picks the mugs from the body and dips the handle in the glaze, also checking and cleaning them as she does that	She holds the glazed mug in her left hand, dips her right hand in the glaze and splashes it on, rotating the mug with her left. Same method as Alun's but with some more glaze applied	She wet-sponges the base of each mug once the glaze is a bit drier
Duration per mug (s)	11	20	10
Duration (info)	2 in 22 seconds	2 in 40 seconds	10
Duration (source)	video	video	video
Timeframe	running	running	running
Activity	active	active	active
Action on materials	layering	layering	cleaning
Contact	hand	hand	tool
Tools			sponge
Machinery			
State of materials	liquid	liquid	liquid
Role	generation	generation	generation
Feature affected	surface	surface	surface
Complexity	Low	High	Low
Origin of methods	Evolution of previous designs and qualities, introduced by Alun	Evolution of previous designs and qualities, introduced by Alun	Evolution of previous designs and qualities, introduced by Alun
Variation	Low	Medium	Low
Variation	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	The potters use largely the same method but the quantity and distribution of glaze differ slightly	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways
Division of labour	Low	Medium	Low
Division of labour	Operation performed by either Alun or Caitlin, as part of a glazing session	Caitlin prefers her way of splashing over Alun's and tends to do it	Operation performed by either Alun or Caitlin, as part of a glazing session
Manufacturing salience	Medium	High	Low
Manufacturing salience	Operation produces surface qualities but the method followed is straightforward	Operation associated with high risk, which results in a key feature of the Ewenny design	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Technique part of the Ewenny repertoire and unlikely to change in the future	Technique part of the Ewenny repertoire and unlikely to change in the future	Standardmethod not likely to change over time
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Feedback from client recorded but it was ignored by Caitlin	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Low	Medium	Low
Technological style	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Some variation noted. Caitlin prefers her way of glazing over Alun's, but this is justified as personal preference	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded
Workshop's approach	Medium	High	Low
Workshop's approach	The potters never tried to glaze in different ways, e.g. by dipping the mugs with thongs and waxing the bottom. They accepted the previous methods and follow them closely	The use of splash glazing is a key reference to the style adopted by Alun's grandfather. Through the splash glaze the ware can be linked back to pots produced over the last century or so, even if materials and working conditions changed considerably	Standard method not linked to narratives
Cultural salience	Medium	High	Low

Operation	52. Drying	53. Packing the glaze kiln	54. Firing the glaze kiln
Illustration			
Description	Pots are temporarily left on the glazing table but do not need further drying. The table is located opposite the kiln area so that minimum movement is required to carry the pots to the kilns	Caitlin puts a stilt in the kiln and then lays one mug on top of it. She does not place stilts and mugs together as she feels they are a bit wobbly and she's not confident about the process	Electric kiln, 1100 C. Glazes need slightly higher or lower temperatures and they places them accordingly in the kiln. Pots with a bit of height such as mugs go at the bottom
Duration per mug (s)	0	10	28800
Duration (info)	0	10	8 hours
Duration (source)	observed	estimate	interview
Timeframe	batch	batch	batch
Activity	passive	active	passive
Action on materials	n/a	moving	n/a
Contact	n/a	hand	machine
Tools	table	kiln furniture	
Machinery		kiln	kiln
State of materials	powdery	powdery	solid
Role	preservation	preparation	generation
Feature affected	body and surface	n/a	body and surface
Complexity	Low	Medium	Medium
Origin of methods	Standard method, also employed by predecessors	Standard method, also employed by predecessors	Standard method, also employed by predecessors
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Simple operation supervised by all three potters	Operation performed mostly by Caitlin or Alun, as part of a firing session	Operation performed mostly by Caitlin or Alun, as part of a firing session
Manufacturing salience	Low	Medium	Low
Manufacturing salience	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware	The effect of packing is noticeable but minimal. The size of the kiln dictates the height of the mug and other pots required to maximise each load	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware, if done correctly
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Standardmethod not likely to change over time	Standardmethod not likely to change over time	Standardmethod not likely to change over time
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Low	Low	Low
Technological style	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded
Workshop's approach	Low	Medium	Medium
Workshop's approach	Standard method not linked to narratives	Electric firing was adopted by Alun's father to finish the pots, bisqued in the coal kiln. Its use is linked to practicalities in achieving consistent results in economic ways, offering a more consistent product to a changing audience	Electric firing was adopted by Alun's father to finish the pots, bisqued in the coal kiln. Its use is linked to practicalities in achieving consistent results in economic ways, offering a more consistent product to a changing audience
Cultural salience	Low	Medium	Medium

Operation	55. Cooling	56. Unpacking the glaze kiln	57. Checking and finishing
Illustration			
Description	The pots are left to cool about 24 h before opening the kiln. Typically the firing sta at 8pm and finishes at 8-9am the morning after, so the kiln can be opened the same time the next day	She takes shelves, props and pots out and places everything in its place, ready for the next firing	She rubs the tip of a chisel all over the bottoms of pots to get rid of sharp areas. She does not use a grinder or sandpaper
Duration per mug (s)	86400	10	5
Duration (info)	24 hours	2 in 20 seconds	5
Duration (source)	interview	video	video
Timeframe	batch	batch	running
Activity	passive	active	active
Action on materials	n/a	moving	chiselling
Contact	machine	hand	tool
Tools			chisel, sandpaper
Machinery	kiln	kiln	
State of materials	solid	solid	solid
Role	generation	preservation	generation
Feature affected	body and surface	n/a	surface
Complexity	Low	Medium	Medium
Origin of methods	Standard method, also employed by predecessors	Standard method, also employed by predecessors	Standard method, also employed by predecessors
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways	Operation performed by the potters in similar ways
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Operation performed mostly by Caitlin or Alun, as part of a firing session	Operation performed mostly by Caitlin or Alun, as part of a firing session	Operation performed mostly by Caitlin or Alun, as part of a firing session
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Medium
Manufacturing salience	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware, if done correctly	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware, if done correctly	Any imperfections are removed at this stage, but this merely prevents issues rather than producing new qualities
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Medium
Technical malleability	Standardmethod not likely to change over time	Standardmethod not likely to change over time	Standardmethod not likely to change over time
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Low	Low	Low
Technological style	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded	Alun and Caitlin perform this in similar ways, no additional personal narratives are recorded
Workshop's approach	Low	Low	Medium
Workshop's approach	Standard method not linked to narratives	Standard method not linked to narratives	Simple method as electric kiln already provides good results. This method would differ from what was done in the old workshop, as firing and standards have changed
Cultural salience	Low	Low	Medium

Operation	58. Selecting pots for sale
Illustration	
Description	Alun and Caitlin occasionally wrap pots for shipping and has done it in the past but Jayne is normally in charge
Duration per mug (s)	96
Duration (info)	5 in 8 minutes
Duration (source)	video
Timeframe	running
Activity	active
Action on materials	wrapping
Contact	hand
Tools	
Machinery	
State of materials	solid
Role	n/a
Feature affected	n/a
Complexity	Medium
Origin of methods	Standard method, also employed by predecessors
Variation	Low
Variation	Caitlin ultimately decideswhat to sell in the shop
Division of labour	**High**
Division of labour	Jayne is largely in charge of selecting the stock and packing for shipment
Manufacturing salience	Low
Manufacturing salience	Operation not directly resulting in tangible elements or qualities in the ware
Technical malleability	Medium
Technical malleability	Some variation is possible due to change in condition of sales
Social context	Medium
Social context	Potters are aware of each other's methods but they are relatively fixed and attract little feedback
Technological style	Low
Technological style	No personal narratives are recorded
Workshop's approach	Low
Workshop's approach	Most pots go straight to replenish the shop, or are stored under the tables
Cultural salience	Low

Combined	Clay preparation	Clay preparation	Clay preparation	Clay preparation
Combined operation	1. Recycling clay	2. Pugging	3. Wedging	4. Weighing

Ewenny	Clay preparation	Clay preparation	Clay preparation	Clay preparation
Operation	1. Recycling clay	2. Pugging	3. Wedging (Benching)	4. Weighing
Complexity	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Variation	Low	Low	Medium	Low
Division of labour	Low	Low	High	Low
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low	Low
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Personal method	Low	Low	Medium	Low
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	**High**	**High**
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low	Low
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	**High**	**High**

Leach	Clay preparation	Clay preparation	Clay preparation	Clay preparation
Operation	1. Recycling clay	2. Pugging	No wedging, the pugged clay is ready to use but they also knead it after weighing it	3. Weighing
Complexity	Low	Low		Low
Variation	Low	Low		Low
Division of labour	High	High		Low
Technical malleability	Medium	Low		Medium
Social context	Medium	Low		Low
Personal method	Low	Low		Low
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium		Medium
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low	Medium
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium

Maze Hill	Clay preparation	Clay preparation	Clay preparation	Clay preparation
Operation	1. Mixing clay	They have a pugmill but do not use it	2. Wedging	3. Weighing
Complexity	Low		Medium	Low
Variation	Medium		Low	Low
Division of labour	High		High	High
Technical malleability	High		Low	Low
Social context	Medium		Medium	Medium
Personal method	Medium		Medium	Medium
Workshop's approach	Medium		Medium	Medium
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low	Medium
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium

Combined	Clay preparation	Clay preparation	Throwing	Throwing
Combined operation	5. Balling up	6. Kneading	7. Fixing bat or hump	7. Fixing bat or hump

Ewenny	Clay preparation	Clay preparation	Throwing	Throwing
Operation	5. Balling up	They do not knead clay balls as wedging or pugging is considered sufficient	They do not use bats for mugs	6. Fixing the hump on the wheel-head
Complexity	Medium			High
Variation	Low			Low
Division of labour	Low			High
Technical malleability	Low			Low
Social context	Medium			Medium
Personal method	Low			Low
Workshop's approach	Medium			**High**
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low	Low
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Low	**High**

Leach	Clay preparation	Clay preparation	Throwing	Throwing
Operation	4. Making clay balls	5. Kneading clay balls	6. Attaching the bat	7. Centring the bat
Complexity	Low	Medium	Low	Low
Variation	Medium	High	Medium	Low
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Social context	Low	Medium	Medium	Medium
Personal method	Medium	Medium	Medium	Low
Workshop's approach	Medium	Low	Low	Low
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low	Low
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Medium	Low

Maze Hill	Clay preparation	Clay preparation	Throwing	Throwing
Operation	4. Making clay balls	5. Kneading clay balls	Standard method	Standard method
Complexity	Low	Medium		
Variation	Low	Low		
Division of labour	High	High		
Technical malleability	Low	Low		
Social context	Medium	Medium		
Personal method	Low	Medium		
Workshop's approach	Low	Low		
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low	Low
Cultural salience	Low	Medium	Low	Low

Combined	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Combined operation	8. Newspaper on boards	9. Using gauges and	10. Throwing the ball	11. Centring

Ewenny	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Operation	7. Laying newspaper on boards	8. Using a gauge	9. Throwing the ball	10. Centring
Complexity	Low	Medium	Low	High
Variation	Low	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low	Low
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Personal method	Low	Low	Low	Medium
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	Medium	**High**
Manufacturing salience	Low	Medium	Low	Low
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Medium	**High**

Leach	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Operation	8. Fixing the bat	9. Using a gauge	10. Throwing the ball	11. Centring
Complexity	Low	Low	Low	High
Variation	Low	Medium	Medium	Medium
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Medium	Low	Low	Low
Social context	Medium	Low	Low	Low
Personal method	Low	Medium	Medium	**High**
Workshop's approach	Low	Medium	Low	Medium
Manufacturing salience	Low	Medium	Low	Low
Cultural salience	Low	Medium	Medium	**High**

Maze Hill		Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Operation		6. Using a gauge and a mirror	7. Throwing the ball	8. Centring
Complexity		Medium	Low	High
Variation		Low	Low	Low
Division of labour		High	High	High
Technical malleability		Low	Medium	Low
Social context		Medium	Low	Low
Personal method		**High**	Low	**High**
Workshop's approach		Medium	Low	Low
Manufacturing salience		Medium	Low	Low
Cultural salience		**High**	Low	**High**

Combined	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Combined operation	12. Opening out	12. Opening out	13. Compressing	14. Pulling the walls

Ewenny	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Operation	11. Opening the hole	12. Opening the cylinder	13. Compressing the base	14. First pull
Complexity	Medium	Medium	Medium	High
Variation	Low	Low	Low	Medium
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low	Low
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Personal method	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Workshop's approach	**High**	**High**	Medium	Low
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Medium	Low
Cultural salience	**High**	**High**	Medium	Medium

Leach	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Operation	12. Opening the hole	13. Opening the cylinder	14. Compressing the base	15. First pull
Complexity	Medium	Medium	Medium	High
Variation	High	High	High	High
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Medium	Low
Social context	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Personal method	Medium	Medium	**High**	**High**
Workshop's approach	**High**	Medium	**High**	Medium
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	**High**	Low
Cultural salience	**High**	Medium	**High**	**High**

Maze Hill	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Operation	9. Opening the hole	10. Opening the cylinder	11. Compressing the base	12. First pull
Complexity	Medium	Medium	Medium	High
Variation	Low	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	High	High	High	High
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Medium	Low
Social context	Medium	Low	Medium	Low
Personal method	Medium	Low	**High**	Low
Workshop's approach	Low	Low	Medium	Low
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	**High**	Low
Cultural salience	Medium	Low	**High**	Low

Combined	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Combined operation	14. Pulling the walls	15. Making the rim	14. Pulling the walls	14. Pulling the walls

Ewenny	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Operation	15. Second pull	16. Rim	17. Third pull
Complexity	Medium	Medium	Medium
Variation	Low	Low	High
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Personal method	Medium	Medium	Medium
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	Medium
Manufacturing salience	Low	Medium	**High**
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Medium

Leach	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Operation	16. Second pull	17. Compressing the rim	18. Third pull	19. Adjusting the shape
Complexity	High	High	High	Medium
Variation	High	High	High	Medium
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Low	Medium	Low	Low
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Personal method	**High**	Medium	**High**	Low
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	**High**	Low
Manufacturing salience	Low	Medium	**High**	Medium
Cultural salience	**High**	Medium	**High**	Medium

Maze Hill	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Operation	13. Second pull	14. Shaping the rim	15. Third pull	16. Other pulls
Complexity	High	High	High	Medium
Variation	Low	Low	Low	Medium
Division of labour	High	High	High	High
Technical malleability	Low	Medium	Low	Low
Social context	Low	Low	Low	Low
Personal method	Low	Low	Low	Low
Workshop's approach	Low	Low	Low	Low
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Medium	**High**
Cultural salience	Low	Low	Low	Low

Combined	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Combined operation	15. Making the rim	16. Making the bevel or	16. Making the bevel or	17. Ribbing

Ewenny			Throwing	Throwing
Operation			18. Undercut	19. Cleaning the wall
Complexity			Medium	High
Variation			Low	High
Division of labour			Low	Low
Technical malleability			Low	Low
Social context			Medium	Medium
Personal method			Medium	Medium
Workshop's approach			**High**	**High**
Manufacturing salience			Low	Medium
Cultural salience			**High**	**High**

Leach		Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Operation		20. Cleaning the base	21. Making the bevel	22. Ribbing
Complexity		Medium	High	High
Variation		High	High	High
Division of labour		Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability		Medium	Medium	Low
Social context		Medium	High	Medium
Personal method		Medium	Medium	**High**
Workshop's approach		Medium	**High**	**High**
Manufacturing salience		Low	**High**	**High**
Cultural salience		Medium	**High**	**High**

Maze Hill	Throwing	Throwing		Throwing
Operation	17. Shaping the rim	18. Cleaning the base		19. Ribbing
Complexity	High	Medium		High
Variation	Low	Low		Low
Division of labour	High	High		High
Technical malleability	Low	Medium		Medium
Social context	Low	Low		Medium
Personal method	Low	Low		**High**
Workshop's approach	Low	Low		Medium
Manufacturing salience	**High**	Low		Medium
Cultural salience	Low	Low		**High**

Combined	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Combined operation	16. Making the bevel or	18. Sponging	15. Making the rim	18. Sponging

Ewenny	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Operation	20. Making the foot	21. Sponging inside	22. Finishing the rim	23. Sponging rim and outside
Complexity	High	Low	High	Low
Variation	Medium	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low	Low
Social context	High	Medium	Medium	Medium
Personal method	Medium	Medium	Low	Medium
Workshop's approach	Medium	**High**	**High**	**High**
Manufacturing salience	**High**	Medium	**High**	**High**
Cultural salience	Medium	**High**	**High**	**High**

Leach		Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Operation		23. Sponging inside	24. Leathering the rim	25. Adding the line
Complexity		Low	Medium	Low
Variation		High	Medium	Medium
Division of labour		Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability		Medium	Medium	High
Social context		Low	Medium	Low
Personal method		Medium	Medium	Low
Workshop's approach		Low	Medium	Medium
Manufacturing salience		Low	**High**	Medium
Cultural salience		Medium	Medium	Medium

Maze Hill	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Operation	20. Making the bevel	21. Sponging inside	22. Finishing the rim	23. Finishing the shape
Complexity	Medium	Low	High	High
Variation	Low	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	High	High	High	High
Technical malleability	Medium	Low	High	High
Social context	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Personal method	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Workshop's approach	Medium	Low	Medium	Medium
Manufacturing salience	**High**	Low	**High**	**High**
Cultural salience	Medium	Low	Medium	Medium

Combined	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Combined operation	19. Cleaning hands	20. Cutting and lifting	19. Cleaning hands	20. Cutting and lifting

Ewenny		Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Operation		24. Cutting	25. Cleaning hands	26. Lifting
Complexity		Low	Medium	Low
Variation		Low	Medium	Low
Division of labour		Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability		Low	Low	Low
Social context		Medium	Medium	Medium
Personal method		Low	Low	Low
Workshop's approach		Medium	Medium	Medium
Manufacturing salience		Medium	Low	Low
Cultural salience		Medium	Medium	Medium

Leach	Throwing	Throwing		Throwing
Operation	26. Cleaning hands	27. Cutting		28. Lifting and placing on boards
Complexity	Low	Medium		Low
Variation	High	Medium		Medium
Division of labour	Low	Low		Low
Technical malleability	Low	Medium		Low
Social context	Low	Medium		Medium
Personal method	Medium	**High**		Medium
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium		Medium
Manufacturing salience	Low	**High**		Low
Cultural salience	Medium	**High**		Medium

Maze Hill		Throwing	Throwing	Throwing
Operation		24. Cutting	25. Cleaning hands	26. Lifting
Complexity		Medium	Low	Low
Variation		Low	Low	Low
Division of labour		High	High	High
Technical malleability		Medium	Low	Low
Social context		Medium	Low	Low
Personal method		Medium	Low	Low
Workshop's approach		**High**	Low	Medium
Manufacturing salience		**High**	Low	Low
Cultural salience		**High**	Low	Medium

Combined	Throwing	Throwing	Handling	Handling
Combined operation	20. Cutting and lifting	21. Drying	22. Preaparing the stubs	22. Preaparing the stubs

Ewenny	Throwing	Throwing	Handling	Handling
Operation	27. Placing on boards	28. Drying	29. Pulling the stubs	30. Cutting the stubs
Complexity	Low	Low	High	Medium
Variation	Low	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low	Low
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Personal method	Low	Low	Low	Low
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	**High**	**High**
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low	Low
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	**High**	**High**

Leach	Throwing	Handling	Handling
Operation	29. Drying	30. Pulling the coil	31. Making the stubs
Complexity	Low	High	Low
Variation	Low	Medium	Low
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Social context	Medium	Medium	Low
Personal method	Low	Medium	Low
Workshop's approach	Low	Medium	Low
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low
Cultural salience	Low	Medium	Low

Maze Hill	Throwing	Handling	Handling
Operation	27. Drying	28. Pulling the coil	29. Making the stubs
Complexity	Low	High	Low
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	High	High	High
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Social context	Medium	Medium	Low
Personal method	Low	Medium	Medium
Workshop's approach	Low	Medium	Low
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low
Cultural salience	Low	Medium	Medium

Combined	Handling	Handling	Handling	Handling
Combined operation	23. Preparing the cylinder	23. Preparing the cylinder	23. Preparing the cylinder	23. Preparing the cylinder

Ewenny	
Operation	The cyylinder is already smooth, clean and ready as it comes off the wheel.
Complexity	This shows the economical approach and proficiency of the potters.
Variation	
Division of labour	
Technical malleability	
Social context	
Personal method	
Workshop's approach	
Manufacturing salience	Low
Cultural salience	Medium

Leach	Handling	Handling	Handling	Handling
Operation	32. Cleaning the bevel	33. Adjust roundness	34. Scoring	35. Wetting the joint
Complexity	Low	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Personal method	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Manufacturing salience	Medium	Medium	Low	Low
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium

Maze Hill	Handling	Handling	Handling
Operation	30. Cleaning the base	31. Scoring	32. Wetting the joint
Complexity	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	High	High	High
Technical malleability	Medium	Low	High
Social context	Low	Low	Medium
Personal method	Low	Low	Low
Workshop's approach	Low	Low	Low
Manufacturing salience	Medium	Low	Low
Cultural salience	Low	Low	Low

Combined	Handling	Handling	Handling	Handling
Combined operation	22. Preaparing the stubs	22. Preaparing the stubs	24. Attaching at top	24. Attaching at top

Ewenny			Handling	Handling
Operation			31. Attaching at top	32. Refining the joint
Complexity			Medium	Medium
Variation			Low	Low
Division of labour			Low	Low
Technical malleability			Low	Low
Social context			Medium	Medium
Personal method			Low	Low
Workshop's approach			High	Low
Manufacturing salience			High	Medium
Cultural salience			High	Low

Leach	Handling	Handling	Handling	Handling
Operation	36. Preparing the stub	37. Scoring the stub	38. Attaching at top	39. Cleaning around the joint
Complexity	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Variation	Medium	Low	Medium	Low
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Medium	Low	Low	Medium
Social context	Medium	Low	Low	Low
Personal method	Medium	Low	Low	Low
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	High	Low
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	High	Low

Maze Hill	Handling		Handling	Handling
Operation	33. Preparing the stub		34. Attaching at top	35. Cleaning around the joint
Complexity	Low		Medium	Low
Variation	Low		Low	Low
Division of labour	High		High	High
Technical malleability	Low		Low	Low
Social context	Low		Low	Low
Personal method	Medium		Low	Low
Workshop's approach	Low		Low	Low
Manufacturing salience	Medium		Medium	Medium
Cultural salience	Medium		Low	Low

Combined	Handling	Handling	Handling	Handling
Combined operation	25. Pulling the handle	25. Pulling the handle	25. Pulling the handle	25. Pulling the handle

Ewenny		Handling		Handling
Operation		33. Pulling the handle		34. Defining the profile
Complexity		High		High
Variation		Low		Low
Division of labour		Low		Low
Technical malleability		Low		Low
Social context		Medium		Medium
Personal method		Low		Low
Workshop's approach		High		High
Manufacturing salience		High		High
Cultural salience		High		High

Leach	Handling	Handling	Handling	Handling
Operation	40. Wetting the handle	41. Pulling the handle	42. Adjusting the joint	43. Defining the profile
Complexity	Low	High	Medium	High
Variation	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Medium	Medium	Medium	High
Social context	Low	High	Medium	High
Personal method	Low	Medium	Low	Low
Workshop's approach	Low	High	Low	Low
Manufacturing salience	Low	High	Medium	High
Cultural salience	Low	High	Low	Low

Maze Hill		Handling	Handling	Handling
Operation		36. Pulling the handle	37. Adding notches on the joint	38. Making the middle ridge
Complexity		High	Medium	High
Variation		Low	Low	Low
Division of labour		High	High	High
Technical malleability		Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context		High	Low	Low
Personal method		Low	Low	Low
Workshop's approach		Medium	Low	Low
Manufacturing salience		High	High	High
Cultural salience		Medium	Low	Low

Combined	Handling	Handling	Handling	Handling
Combined operation	26. Cleaning edges	27. Attaching at bottom	27. Attaching at bottom	28. Finalising the handle

Ewenny		Handling	Handling
Operation	The handle has no edges and its profile is defined during pulling, showing the economical approach and proficiency of the potters	35. Attaching at bottom	36. Finalising the joint
Complexity		Medium	High
Variation		Low	Low
Division of labour		Low	Low
Technical malleability		Low	Low
Social context		Medium	Medium
Personal method		Low	Low
Workshop's approach		Low	Medium
Manufacturing salience	Low	**High**	**High**
Cultural salience	Medium	Low	Medium

Leach	Handling	Handling	Handling	Handling
Operation	44. Cleaning edges	45. Attaching at bottom	46. Finalising the joint	47. Finalising the shape
Complexity	Medium	Medium	High	High
Variation	Medium	Medium	High	High
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Medium	High	High	High
Social context	Low	Medium	High	High
Personal method	Low	Low	Low	Low
Workshop's approach	Low	Medium	Medium	Low
Manufacturing salience	Medium	Medium	**High**	**High**
Cultural salience	Low	Medium	Medium	Low

Maze Hill	Handling	Handling	Handling
Operation	39. Cleaning edges	40. Attaching at bottom	41. Finalising the shape
Complexity	Medium	High	High
Variation	Low	Low	Medium
Division of labour	High	High	High
Technical malleability	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	Low	Low	Medium
Personal method	Low	Low	Low
Workshop's approach	Low	Low	Low
Manufacturing salience	Low	**High**	**High**
Cultural salience	Low	Low	Low

Combined	Handling	Handling	Handling	Signing
Combined operation	28. Finalising the handle	28. Finalising the handle	29. Drying	30. Signing or stamping

Ewenny	Handling		Handling	Signing
Operation	37. Fettling		38. Drying	39. Signing
Complexity	Low		Low	High
Variation	Low		Low	Low
Division of labour	Low		Low	High
Technical malleability	Low		Low	Low
Social context	Medium		Medium	Medium
Personal method	Medium		Low	Medium
Workshop's approach	Medium		Medium	**High**
Manufacturing salience	Medium		Low	**High**
Cultural salience	Medium		Medium	**High**

Leach	Handling	Handling	Handling	Handling
Operation	48. Fettling	49. Sponging	53. Placing on boards	50. Stamping
Complexity	Low	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Medium	Medium	Low	Low
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Medium	Medium	Low	High
Social context	Low	Low	Medium	Low
Personal method	Medium	Medium	Low	Low
Workshop's approach	Low	Medium	Medium	**High**
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low	**High**
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Medium	**High**

Maze Hill	Handling		Handling	Handling
Operation	42. Finalising the bottom joint		44. Placing on boards	43. Stamping
Complexity	High		Low	Low
Variation	Medium		Low	Low
Division of labour	High		High	High
Technical malleability	Medium		Medium	Low
Social context	Medium		Low	Low
Personal method	Low		Medium	Low
Workshop's approach	Low		Medium	Medium
Manufacturing salience	**High**		Low	Medium
Cultural salience	Low		Medium	Medium

Combined	Signing	Signing	Signing	Signing
Combined operation	30. Signing or stamping	31. Drying	30. Signing or stamping	31. Drying

Ewenny	Signing	Signing	Signing
Operation	40. Cleaning	41. Placing on boards	42. Drying
Complexity	Medium	Low	Low
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	High	High	Low
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Personal method	Low	Low	Low
Workshop's approach	Medium	Low	Low
Manufacturing salience	Medium	Low	Low
Cultural salience	Medium	Low	Low

Leach	Handling	Handling	Handling
Operation	51. Adding the line	52. Rounding the rim	54. Drying
Complexity	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Medium	Low	Low
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	High	Medium	Low
Social context	Low	Medium	Medium
Personal method	Low	Low	Low
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	Medium
Manufacturing salience	Medium	Medium	Low
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Medium

Maze Hill	Handling
Operation	45. Drying
Complexity	Low
Variation	Low
Division of labour	High
Technical malleability	Low
Social context	Medium
Personal method	Low
Workshop's approach	Low
Manufacturing salience	Low
Cultural salience	Low

Combined	Bisque firing	Bisque firing	Bisque firing	Glazing
Combined operation	32. Loading the bisque	33. Bisque firing	34. Unloading the bisque	35. Preparing glazes

Ewenny	Bisque firing	Bisque firing	Bisque firing
Operation	43. Packing the bisque kiln	44. Bisque firing	45. Emptying the bisque kiln
Complexity	Medium	Medium	Low
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Social context	Medium	Medium	Medium
Personal method	Low	Low	Low
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	Low
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Low

Leach	Bisque firing	Bisque firing	Bisque firing	Glazing
Operation	55. Packing the bisque kiln	56. Bisque firing	57. Emptying the bisque kiln	58. Preparing the ash
Complexity	High	Medium	Low	Medium
Variation	Low	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	High	High	Low	High
Technical malleability	Low	Medium	Low	Low
Social context	Low	Low	Low	Low
Personal method	Low	Low	Low	Medium
Workshop's approach	**High**	**High**	Medium	Medium
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low	Low
Cultural salience	**High**	**High**	Medium	Medium

Maze Hill	Bisque firing	Bisque firing	Bisque firing
Operation	Packing not observed	46. Bisque firing	Unpacking not observed
Complexity		Medium	
Variation		Medium	
Division of labour		High	
Technical malleability		Low	
Social context		Low	
Personal method		Low	
Workshop's approach		**High**	
Manufacturing salience		Low	
Cultural salience		**High**	

Combined	Glazing	Glazing	Glazing	Glazing
Combined operation	35. Preparing glazes	36. Preparing for glazing	37. Glazing or slipping	37. Glazing or slipping

Ewenny	Glazing	Glazing	Glazing	Glazing
Operation	Glaze preparation not observed	46. Cleaning	47. Dipping the body in glaze	48. Cleaning
Complexity		Low	Medium	Low
Variation		Low	Low	Low
Division of labour		Low	Low	Low
Technical malleability		Low	Low	Low
Social context		Medium	Medium	Medium
Personal method		Low	Low	Low
Workshop's approach		Medium	Medium	Medium
Manufacturing salience	Medium	Low	Medium	Low
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium

Leach	Glazing	Glazing	Glazing	Glazing
Operation	59. Preparing the glazes	60. Waxing the base	61. Glazing inside	62. Glazing the rim
Complexity	High	Low	High	High
Variation	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Division of labour	High	Medium	High	High
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Social context	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Personal method	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Workshop's approach	**High**	**High**	**High**	**High**
Manufacturing salience	Medium	Low	Medium	Medium
Cultural salience	**High**	**High**	**High**	**High**

Maze Hill	Glazing	Slipping	Slipping
Operation	Glaze preparation not observed	47. Slipping outside	48. Drying
Complexity		High	Low
Variation		Medium	Low
Division of labour		High	High
Technical malleability		High	Low
Social context		High	Medium
Personal method		Medium	Low
Workshop's approach		**High**	Low
Manufacturing salience	Medium	**High**	Low
Cultural salience	Medium	**High**	Low

Combined	Glazing	Glazing	Glazing	Glazing
Combined operation	37. Glazing or slipping	37. Glazing or slipping	37. Glazing or slipping	38. Cleaning glaze

Ewenny	Glazing	Glazing		Glazing
Operation	49. Dipping the handle in glaze	50. Splash glazing		51. Cleaning
Complexity	Low	High		Low
Variation	Low	Medium		Low
Division of labour	Low	Medium		Low
Technical malleability	Low	Low		Low
Social context	Medium	Medium		Medium
Personal method	Low	Medium		Low
Workshop's approach	Medium	**High**		Low
Manufacturing salience	Medium	**High**		Low
Cultural salience	Medium	**High**		Low

Leach	Glazing	Glazing		Glazing
Operation	63. Drying	64. Glazing outside		65. Cleaning the base
Complexity	Low	High		Low
Variation	Low	Medium		Low
Division of labour	High	High		Medium
Technical malleability	Low	Medium		Low
Social context	Low	Medium		Low
Personal method	Low	Medium		Low
Workshop's approach	Medium	**High**		Low
Manufacturing salience	Low	Medium		Low
Cultural salience	Medium	**High**		Low

Maze Hill	Slipping	Slipping	Slipping	Glazing
Operation	49. Slipping inside	50. Carrying boards	51. Spraying oxide	They do not glaze and therefore clean the bases
Complexity	Low	Low	Medium	
Variation	Low	Low	Low	
Division of labour	High	High	High	
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Medium	
Social context	Low	Low	High	
Personal method	Low	Low	Low	
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	Medium	
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Medium	
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Medium	

Combined	Glazing	Packing	Packing	Packing
Combined operation	39. Drying	40. Preparing for firing	40. Preparing for firing	41. Loading the glaze

Ewenny	Glazing			Glaze firing
Operation	52. Drying			53. Packing the glaze kiln
Complexity	Low			Medium
Variation	Low			Low
Division of labour	Low			Low
Technical malleability	Low			Low
Social context	Medium			Medium
Personal method	Low			Low
Workshop's approach	Low			Medium
Manufacturing salience	Low			Medium
Cultural salience	Low			Medium

Leach		Glaze firing	Glaze firing	Glaze firing
Operation		66. Preparing the cones	67. Carrying pots to the gas kiln outside	68. Loading the glaze kiln
Complexity		Medium	Low	High
Variation		Medium	Low	Medium
Division of labour		Medium	Low	Medium
Technical malleability		Low	Low	Medium
Social context		High	Low	High
Personal method		Medium	Low	Low
Workshop's approach		Medium	Low	**High**
Manufacturing salience		Low	Low	Medium
Cultural salience		Medium	Low	**High**

Maze Hill	Slipping	Packing	Packing	Packing
Operation	52. Drying	53. Adding wadding	54. Preparing the shelves	55. Packing
Complexity	Low	Low	Medium	High
Variation	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Division of labour	High	Medium	High	Medium
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low	Medium
Social context	Medium	Low	Low	High
Personal method	Low	Medium	Medium	Medium
Workshop's approach	Low	Low	Low	**High**
Manufacturing salience	Low	Medium	Low	**High**
Cultural salience	Low	Medium	Medium	**High**

Combined	Packing	Packing	Packing	Packing
Combined operation	40. Preparing for firing	42. Using cones	41. Loading the glaze	40. Preparing for firing

Ewenny	
Operation	Not required for electric firing
Complexity	
Variation	
Division of labour	
Technical malleability	
Social context	
Personal method	
Workshop's approach	
Manufacturing salience	
Cultural salience	

Leach	Glaze firing	Glaze firing
Operation	69. Using pyrometric cones	70. Building the front wall
Complexity	Medium	Medium
Variation	Low	Low
Division of labour	Medium	Medium
Technical malleability	Low	Low
Social context	Low	Low
Personal method	Low	Low
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium

Maze Hill	Packing	Packing	Packing
Operation	56. Measuring the packing	57. Making the cones	58. Cleaning up
Complexity	Low	Medium	Low
Variation	Medium	Low	Low
Division of labour	High	Medium	High
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Social context	Low	High	Low
Personal method	High	Low	Low
Workshop's approach	Low	Medium	Low
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low
Cultural salience	High	Medium	Low

Combined	Glaze firing	Glaze firing	Glaze firing	Glaze firing
Combined operation	43. Keeping track of	44. Warming up	45. Glaze firing	45. Glaze firing

Ewenny			Glaze firing
Operation	Not required for electric firing	Part of the programmed cycle of the electric kiln	54. Firing the glaze kiln
Complexity			Medium
Variation			Low
Division of labour			Low
Technical malleability			Low
Social context			Medium
Personal method			Low
Workshop's approach			Medium
Manufacturing salience			Low
Cultural salience			Medium

Leach	Glaze firing	Glaze firing	Glaze firing
Operation	71. Keeping track of firing	72. Warming up to dry pots	73. Glaze firing
Complexity	Medium	Low	High
Variation	Low	Low	Medium
Division of labour	Medium	Medium	Medium
Technical malleability	Medium	Low	Medium
Social context	High	Low	High
Personal method	Medium	Low	Medium
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	**High**
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	**High**

Maze Hill	Soda firing	Soda firing	Soda firing	Soda firing
Operation	59. Keeping track of firing	60. Warming up	61. Firing in oxidation	62. Firing in reduction
Complexity	Low	Medium	Medium	High
Variation	Low	Medium	Medium	Medium
Division of labour	Low	Low	Low	Medium
Technical malleability	Low	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	High	High	High	High
Personal method	Medium	Low	Low	Low
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Manufacturing salience	Low	Low	Low	Medium
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium

Combined	Glaze firing	Glaze firing	Glaze firing	Glaze firing
Combined operation	46. Soda / salt process	46. Soda / salt process	46. Soda / salt process	46. Soda / salt process

Ewenny
Operation
Complexity
Variation
Division of labour
Technical malleability
Social context
Personal method
Workshop's approach
Manufacturing salience
Cultural salience

Leach
Operation
Complexity
Variation
Division of labour
Technical malleability
Social context
Personal method
Workshop's approach
Manufacturing salience
Cultural salience

Maze Hill	Soda firing	Soda firing	Soda firing	Soda firing
Operation	63. Preparing soda	64. Firing with soda	65. Adding salt	66. Firing with salt
Complexity	Medium	High	Low	High
Variation	Low	Medium	Low	Medium
Division of labour	Low	Medium	Low	Medium
Technical malleability	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	High	High	High	High
Personal method	Low	Low	Low	Low
Workshop's approach	High	High	High	High
Manufacturing salience	Low	High	Low	High
Cultural salience	High	High	High	High

Combined	Glaze firing	Glaze firing	Glaze firing	Glaze firing
Combined operation	45. Glaze firing	47. Cooling	48. Unloading the glaze	48. Unloading the glaze

Ewenny		Glaze firing		Glaze firing
Operation		55. Cooling		56. Unpacking the glaze kiln
Complexity		Low		Medium
Variation		Low		Low
Division of labour		Low		Low
Technical malleability		Low		Low
Social context		Medium		Medium
Personal method		Low		Low
Workshop's approach		Low		Low
Manufacturing salience		Low		Low
Cultural salience		Low		Low

Leach		Glaze firing	Glaze firing	Glaze firing
Operation		74. Cooling	75. Dismantling the front door	76. Unloading the glaze kiln
Complexity		Low	Medium	Low
Variation		Low	Low	Low
Division of labour		Medium	Medium	Low
Technical malleability		Medium	Low	Low
Social context		Medium	Medium	Low
Personal method		Low	Low	Low
Workshop's approach		Low	Medium	Medium
Manufacturing salience		Low	Low	Low
Cultural salience		Low	Medium	Medium

Maze Hill	Soda firing	Soda firing	Soda firing	Soda firing
Operation	67. Firing to top temperature	68. Finishing the firing	69. Dismantling the front door	70. Opening the kiln
Complexity	Medium	High	High	High
Variation	Low	Medium	Low	Low
Division of labour	Medium	High	Low	Low
Technical malleability	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Social context	High	High	Medium	Medium
Personal method	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Workshop's approach	Low	Low	Low	Medium
Manufacturing salience	Medium	Medium	Low	Low
Cultural salience	Low	Low	Medium	Medium

D.2 Operational Sequence - Combined (24 of 24)

Combined	Glaze firing	Finishing	Finishing
Combined operation	48. Unloading the glaze	49. Finishing the pots	49. Finishing the pots

Ewenny		Glaze firing	Selecting
Operation		57. Checking and finishing	58. Selecting pots for sale
Complexity		Medium	Medium
Variation		Low	Low
Division of labour		Low	High
Technical malleability		Medium	Medium
Social context		Medium	Medium
Personal method		Low	Low
Workshop's approach		Medium	Low
Manufacturing salience		Medium	Low
Cultural salience		Medium	Low

Leach	Glaze firing	Finishing	Finishing
Operation	77. Taking shelves and props out	78. Finishing	79. Selecting pots for sale
Complexity	Low	Low	Low
Variation	Low	Low	Low
Division of labour	Low	Medium	Low
Technical malleability	Low	Low	Low
Social context	Medium	Low	Low
Personal method	Low	Low	Low
Workshop's approach	Medium	Medium	Low
Manufacturing salience	Low	Medium	Low
Cultural salience	Medium	Medium	Low

Maze Hill	Finishing	Finishing	Finishing
Operation	71. Cleaning the kiln and shelves	72. Grinding the pots	73. Selecting pots for sale
Complexity	Medium	High	High
Variation	Low	High	Low
Division of labour	High	High	Low
Technical malleability	Low	Low	High
Social context	Medium	High	High
Personal method	Medium	Medium	Low
Workshop's approach	Medium	**High**	**High**
Manufacturing salience	Low	**High**	Low
Cultural salience	Medium	**High**	**High**

Appendix E

E.1 Analytical table: Matt throwing Leach mugs (1 of 6)

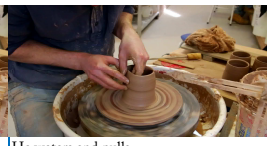
Matt Foster	1.Throwing the ball	2.Centring	3.Opening the hole	4.Opening the cylinder
April 2016				
	He throws the ball keeping the wheel-head still	He centres by coning the clay lightly, watering it twice	He pushes the feft thumb with his right index and waters once	He waters once again and opens with his left index and right medium together
Duration (s)	4	23	9	6
July 2016				
	He throws the ball keeping the wheel-head still	He cones more than in April and waters 3x	He pushes the feft thumb with his right index and waters once	He waters once again and opens with his left index and right medium together
Duration (s)	2	25	4	7
September 2017				
	He throws the ball keeping the wheel-head still	He waters and cones once only	He pushes the feft thumb with his right index and waters once	He waters once again and opens with his left index and right medium together
Duration (s)	2	10	5	6

E.1 Analytical table: Matt throwing Leach mugs (2 of 6)

Matt Foster	5.Compressing the base	6.First pull	7.Compressing the rim	8.Compressing the base
April 2016				
	He waters once again and presses with the fingertips of both hands from the middle to the right, twice	He waters once again and pull with his left fingers inside, right fingers outside, wrapping the shape	He waters once again and squares the rim	He squares up the inner corner
Duration (s)	13	13	12	8
July 2016				
	He compresses lightly without water	He adds some water and pulls the clay into a regular cone	He removes the slurry and rims without water	
Duration (s)	5	10	4	
September 2017				
	He compresses lightly without water	He adds some water and pulls the clay into a regular cone	He removes the slurry and rims with a light touch of the left hand only, without water	
Duration (s)	4	9	1	

Matt Foster	9.Touching the walls	10.Compressing the rim	11.Second pull	12.Compressing the rim
April 2016				
	He waters twice, looking undecided, he waits and does not pull	He waters once and squares the rim again	He waters once and pulls	He waters and refines the rim with the flesh between index and medium
Duration (s)	3	5	10	4
July 2016				
			He waters once and pulls into a regular cone	He briefly refines the rim withouth water
Duration (s)			18	3
September 2017				
			He waters once and pulls into a regular cone	
Duration (s)			10	

E.1 Analytical table: Matt throwing Leach mugs (3 of 6)

Matt Foster	13.Third pull	14.Refinining the rim	15.Retouching the shape	16.Fourth pull
April 2016				
	He waters once and pulls	He waters and refines the rim with the flesh between index and medium, and adjusts the floor	He waters and pulls very lightly	He waters and pulls
Duration (s)	16	11	8	17
July 2016				
	He waters once and pulls	He ends up on the rim and presses down quickly		He waters and pulls
Duration (s)	16	2		14
September 2017				
	He waters once and pulls	He rims lightly only with the left hand		He waters and pulls
Duration (s)	14	1		13

Matt Foster	17.Fifth pull	18.Retouching the shape	19.Rim	20.Retouching the shape
April 2016				
	He waters and pulls	He waters and refines the shape	He shapes the rim with the index and medium of his left hand, without water	He waters and refines the shape again
Duration (s)	16	14	3	15
July 2016				
Duration (s)				
September 2017				
Duration (s)				

E.1 Analytical table: Matt throwing Leach mugs (4 of 6)

Matt Foster	21.Rim	22.Bamboo tool	23.Ribbing	24.Cleaning the floor
April 2016				
	He shapes the rim with the index and medium of his left hand, without water	He picks up the wrong tool	He ribs lightly with a plastic pastry scraper, a couple of times, from the bottom up	
Duration (s)	3	4	10	
July 2016				
Duration (s)				
September 2017				
	He rims lightly only with the left hand, again		He ribs lightly with the bamboo tool and from the top	He cleans the floor with the bamboo first
Duration (s)	3		8	6

Matt Foster	25.Making the bevel	26.Cleaning the walls	27.Refining the bevel	28.Finishing the rim
April 2016				
	He picks up the bamboo tool and cleans the base around the cylinder, making the bevel at the same time	He cleans the wall again with the scraper, just on the outside, with no hand inside	He refines the bevel again with the bamboo tool	He refines the rim again
Duration (s)	9	4	5	4
July 2016				
	He picks up the bamboo tool and cleans the base around the cylinder, making the bevel at the same time	He cleans the wall with the scraper, with more confidence, a bit heavier, from the bottom up		He refines the rim again
Duration (s)	9	9		3
September 2017				
	He makes the bevel with the bamboo tool			
Duration (s)	10			

E.1 Analytical table: Matt throwing Leach mugs (5 of 6)

Matt Foster	29.Leathering the rim	30.Adding the line	31.Refining the bevel	32.Cutting wire
April 2016				
		He adds the line with the nail of his right medium	He rubs a wet finger on the edge of the bevel	He picks up the cutting wire, realises the inside has water and puts the wire away
Duration (s)		4	4	5
July 2016				
	He leathers the rim	He adds the line with the nail of his right index		
Duration (s)	4	3		
September 2017				
		He adds the line with the nail of his right index		
Duration (s)		3		

Matt Foster	33.Cleans inside the cylinder	34.Cutting	35.Cleaning hands	36.Lifting
April 2016				
	He sponges the inside with a sponge on a stick	He cuts away from himself	He cleans his hands on his jeans	He lifts the cylinder with both hands
Duration (s)	7	8	8	2
July 2016				
		He cuts away from himself		He lifts the cylinder with both hands
Duration (s)		4		3
September 2017				
		He cuts away from himself		He lifts the cylinder with both hands
Duration (s)		5		2

E.1 Analytical table: Matt throwing Leach mugs (6 of 6)

Matt Foster	**37.Placing on boards**	
April 2016	 He holds the side of the mug in his left hand and lifts it from the base with his right fingers, before placing it on the board next to him	
Duration (s)	3	4m 50s
July 2016	 He holds the side of the mug in his left hand and lifts it from the base with his right fingers, before placing it on the board next to him	
Duration (s)	2	2m 27s
September 2017	 He lifts the cylinder vertically without tilting it	
Duration (s)	2	1m 54s